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# Frederic Remington: Artist on Horseback

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**FREDERIC REMINGTON; ARTIST ON HORSEBACK**

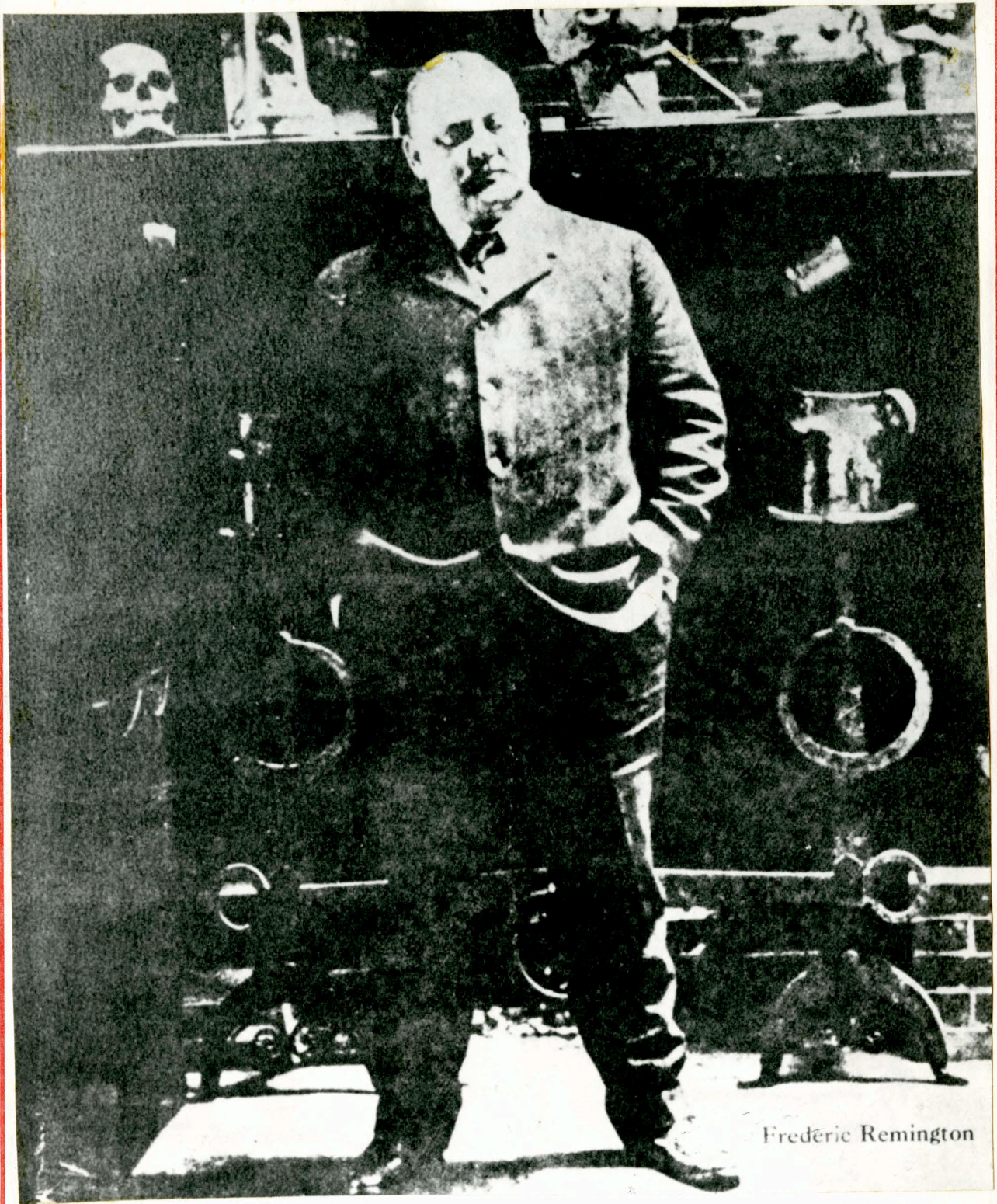
by

**Spencer John Maxcy**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts**

**December**

**1963**



Frederic Remington

I. FREDERIC REMINGTON, CIRCA 1905

## LIFE

Spencer John Maxcy was born in Chicago, Illinois on June 22, 1939.

He attended high school in Chicago, graduating in 1957. Four years later, he graduated from Blackburn University, Carlinville, Illinois with a Bachelor of Arts degree in history.

In 1961, he began his graduate studies in the field of history at Loyola University in Chicago. The following year he taught in the Chicago Public Schools while continuing his work on a part-time basis. During the current school term he is teaching American History at the Dwight D. Eisenhower High School in Blue Island, Illinois.



## PREFACE

The purpose of this biography is to examine the life of Frederic Remington, and by exploiting new sources and clarifying the old, to illustrate Remington's development as an American artist of the Old West.

Sources of most value are: the Remington Papers, a collection (on microfilm) of Remington's correspondence and work; issues of Harper's Weekly, Harper's Monthly, and Century magazines from 1880 until 1910; Harold McCracken's Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1947), and Robert Taft's "The Pictorial Record of the Old West; V. Remington in Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XVI (May, 1948).

The author wishes to thank the following people who aided in the preparation of this study: Dr. R. McCluggage, Loyola University, who lent his valuable advice; Miss Catherine W. Taggart, Curator of the Remington Art Memorial, Ogdensburg, New York, for her patient searches; and Miss Diana Milesko and M. Maxcy for typing this thesis.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

"I saw the living, breathing end of three American centuries of smoke and dust and sweat, and I now see quite another thing where it all took place, but it does not appeal to me," wrote Frederic Remington in 1905.<sup>1</sup> For nearly thirty years Remington traveled through the Old West sketching and painting the vanishing frontier. He tracked the last Sioux war party with the United States Cavalry; swapped tall stories over a campfire with buffalo hunters; and rode herd with the Mexican vagueros before the fences came. Remington's trail stretched from Canada to Mexico, over mountains and through the tall plains grass where he recorded the last moments of the dying West in oil paint, bronze and the printed word for the generations to come.

Frederic Remington's story begins in the East, where his early years clearly prepared him for his art career. Seth Pierrepont Remington and Clara Bascomb Sackrider Remington, on October 4, 1861, became the parents of a son, Frederic Sackrider Remington, in Canton, New York.<sup>2</sup> Of English lineage, they traced their family back to John Remington, who settled in Newbury, Massachusetts in 1637. Four ancestors had fought in the

Revolutionary War; another, in the War of 1812.<sup>3</sup> Seth Remington, better known as "Pierre," served in the Civil War with Scott's 900, a company of the Eleventh New York Cavalry Regiment. He entered the Union Army on November 27, 1861. However, it was not until August of 1864, while in command of a regiment of volunteers, that Major Remington showed his true merit.<sup>4</sup> The regiment was encamped at Doyal's Plantation, near New River, Louisiana, when they were surrounded by Confederate troops.<sup>5</sup> Young Doyal, the owner of the plantation, had challenged Major Remington to a duel earlier, but the Major wisely refused; Doyal was a crack shot.<sup>6</sup> Reinforced by rebel troops, Doyal now meant to kill or capture Remington. Ignoring a written demand from the Confederate Colonel J.S. Scott, to surrender,<sup>7</sup> Remington told his men to mount and make a dash for it. One of the junior officers later wrote of that charge:

Maj. Remington's horse was shot and fell just after he had cut his way through the rebel lines; R.J. Keif, of Company M, immediately dismounted and gave the major his horse, thinking, as he expressed it, that "if he was captured, the 'rebs' would not have such a big prize as if they got the major."<sup>8</sup>

When the skirmish was over, the Union soldiers had broken through the rebel army, and Doyal had to be content with Remington's boots.<sup>9</sup>

After the war, Pierre Remington was retired with distinction from active duty with the permanent rank of Major and the brevet commission of Colonel in the United States Army.<sup>10</sup> He

returned to Canton, New York, where he managed the St. Lawrence Plaindealer, and soon developed it into the most powerful Republican newspaper in St. Lawrence County.<sup>11</sup> With his eye on the political scene, Remington became good friends with Thomas Collier Platt (1833-1910), a fast-rising politico from Tioga County, New York. Platt's break into national politics came with his successful support of Ulysses S. Grant for President on the Republican ticket in 1872. Platt's reward was a seat in the House of Representatives, a stepping-stone to what was to be a long and successful political career.<sup>12</sup>

Pierre Remington's role as a Republican editor was instrumental in placing Grant and Platt in Washington, a favor Platt never forgot. In December, 1873, Remington was named Collector of the Fort of Ogdensburg, on the St. Lawrence River.<sup>13</sup> The following year he sold the newspaper to Gilbert B. Manley.<sup>14</sup>

The younger Remington was twelve when the family moved from Canton to Ogdensburg, New York. He attended public school there from 1873 to 1874. He spent a single year at the Vermont Episcopal Institute in Burlington, Vermont,<sup>15</sup> and then in the autumn of 1876, he entered Highland Military Academy in Massachusetts.<sup>16</sup> At Highland, "Bud" Remington proved himself a more than capable athlete and cadet. He was only fifteen, but already stood five feet eight inches tall and weighed one hundred and eighty pounds. Remington, shy at first, soon made friends.<sup>17</sup> Julian Wilder, his friend and classmate, later



wrote of Remington's strength at this time:

I should always have remembered Remington, without his rising to fame, for a little wrestling match in which we once indulged resulted in my receiving a broken shoulder-blade, a broken collar-bone, and a dislocation of the arm.<sup>18</sup>

During his stay at the academy and during his vacations at home, Remington's artistic talents began to form. His friend Wilder had an artistic bent and often sketched. One of Wilder's favorite pastimes was writing to a friend, Scott Turner, in Maine. These letters were often decorated with little sketches in pencil and ink. Turner, who attended art school in the East, did the same but with somewhat better results.

Remington noticed one of Wilder's letters from Turner and immediately asked who had sent it. Wilder told him the letter was from Scott Turner and suggested that Remington write to him.<sup>19</sup> Eager to discover how Turner produced his drawings, Remington began corresponding with him almost immediately. In his first letter to Turner, dated March 3, 1877, Frederic mentions his interest in military subjects and the fact that he is having some difficulty with shading his sketches. Here we see the seeds of Frederic Remington's later art interest, and although he acknowledges Turner to be his superior, it will be Remington who will make a name for himself in the world of

art and illustration.

Remington's letter to Turner reads:

Friend Scott--

Having seen some of your drawings which you sent Wilder, I am desirous of opening a correspondence with you. I hope you will honor me with your sanction. I am the fortunate possessor of one of your drawings, entitled "Where is the Cap't?" You draw splendidly, and I admire your mode of shading, which I can not get the "hang" of. Your favorite subject is soldiers. So is mine; but, mind you, I do not pretend to compare my drawings with yours. I can draw almost as good as Wilder. If you will please to send me a sheet of pictures such as you sent Wilder, I will do my best to draw a little cadet life at the Highland Military Academy.<sup>20</sup>

Remington's letters to Turner are of further importance because they point up characteristics he carried into adult life. In his short, curt sentences, filled with military slang and roughness, we see traces of what was later to be his unmistakable journalistic style:

I don't amount to anything in particular. I can spoil an immense amount of good grub at any time in the day. I am almost as bad as Wilder, who is acknowledged to be the "baddest" man in school in that line. I go a good many on muscle. My hair is short and stiff, and I am about five feet eight inches and weigh one hundred and eighty pounds. There is nothing poetical about me. I live in Ogdensburg, New York, on the banks of the St. Lawrence. I went to school in Burlington, Vermont, last year. I lived in Bloomington, Illinois once in my life and never want to live there any more. I am well instructed in Upton's "Infantry Tactics", and have just come off from an hour's drill.

Wilder and myself have been under arrest for the last few days. We marched in the armory--I with the saber that David killed Goliath with and Wilder with an old rusty musket. I don't swear much, although it is my weak point, and I have to look my letters over carefully to see if there is any cussing in them. I never smoke--only when I can get treated--and never condescend to the friendly offer "Take something, old hoss?"<sup>21</sup>

On one occasion Turner sent Remington pictures he had drawn of women and men dressed in evening clothes. When Remington received these he wrote back requesting Turner not to draw "any more women or any more dudes," but instead to send, "Indians, cowboys, villains or toughs. These are what I want!"<sup>22</sup>

Remington's early drawings, done at the age of fifteen, show clearly the sign of artistic talent. His little sketches of military life are remarkable for their accuracy and attention to detail. His figures are not mere cookie-cutter outlines, but authentic looking officers and infantrymen. The most significant feature of all is his sense of gesture and animation: the hallmark of an illustrator. However Remington had not as yet mastered the techniques of shading, as he admitted in his letter to Turner: the backgrounds are filled with meaningless scribbles which give a flat appearance to the scenes. This two dimensional effect; Remington's unwarranted concern for the negative area of the picture; and his fill-in

scribbles are typical faults of the beginning artist (see plate II).<sup>23</sup>

His first attempt at serious art came during a vacation from the Academy. He did an oil painting of a Gallic chief, bound in a cave and guarded by a Roman soldier.<sup>24</sup>

Remington lost track of Turner after leaving the Academy, but the desire to draw and paint remained a fixed part of his nature. Lacking confidence in art as a career, however, he wished to go to college, not to be an artist, but to become a journalist. Writing came easily to him and he did it well in school.<sup>25</sup> His father's interest in newspaper work no doubt also influenced him in the decision. Remington wrote of his plans to his uncle Horace D. Sackrider, on May 27, 1878:

I am going to try to get into Cornell College this coming June and if I succeed will be a Journalist. I mean to study for an artist anyhow, whether I ever make a success of it or not.<sup>26</sup>

As it turned out, Remington enrolled in Yale University instead, majoring in journalism while taking an extra course at the newly established Yale Art School. A fellow student, Poultney Bigelow, described the school in his autobiography:

We were by ourselves in the dingy cellar or basement whose only decoration consisted of casts from the antique. It was the only Yale department which then permitted of women, but these we never saw, for they had a room in some other part of the



building. No studio was better designed if its object was to damp the ardour of a budding Michael Angelo. The most difficult of all statues for a beginner was given us: the madly dancing Faun generally credited to Praxiteles. At long intervals the melancholy professor of drawing entered our cheerless room, gazed at our clumsy crayoning, made a few strokes by way of emphasizing our clumsiness, and then disappeared. . .<sup>27</sup>

At Yale, Remington engaged in a number of inter-collegiate sports. He was a member of the football team in 1878-1879 and again 1879-80, under the great captain Walter Camp (see plate III). One evening after a pep rally, Remington and a group of followers went down to the local slaughter house. There Remington smeared his football jersey with blood as an omen of victory for the annual Yale-Harvard game to be played the next day.<sup>28</sup>

He did not confine himself to football, but was also an outstanding inter-collegiate boxer.<sup>29</sup> At one time he even considered becoming a professional prize-fighter. His ability to fight proved of great value out West, as did his swimming and riding skills.

Remington left school during the Christmas holidays of 1879 and did not return because of the ill health of his father who died February 10, 1880.<sup>30</sup> His decision not to return to Yale was also caused in part by his dissatisfaction with the

instructors and facilities at the Art School. Bigelow wrote of this in 1925:

The Yale of 1879 saw nothing of genius or even talent in the big burley, blond undergraduate who played in the football eleven, and cursed Praxiteles and left Yale disgusted with art and its New Haven exponents.<sup>31</sup>

Faced with the problem of providing for himself after his father's death, Frederic turned to his father's friend, "Boss" Platt for help. Platt got Remington a job on the staff of Governor Alonzo B. Cornell. This took him to Albany, New York, the state capital.<sup>32</sup> But Remington soon tired of the routine and quit. He held some five or six jobs in Albany between the years 1880 and 1883, but office work never really satisfied his craving for adventure.<sup>33</sup>

While working in Albany, Remington had met an attractive, blue-eyed girl from Gloversville, New York.<sup>34</sup> Her name was Eva Caten, and she was the daughter of Roselle Meade Caten and Lawton Caten.<sup>35</sup> Remington was infatuated with Eva from their first meeting and he began to court her immediately. Soon he worked up the courage to ask Eva to marry him. She agreed. However, in keeping with custom, Remington had to secure Mr. Caten's consent. This was the subject of a neatly written letter of August 25, 1880:

Dear Sir:

I pen these lines to you on a most delicate subject and hope they will at least receive your consideration. For a year I have known your daughter Eva, and during that time have contracted a deep affection for her. I have received encouragement in all propriety, and with her permission and the fact of your countenancing my association, I feel warranted now in asking whether or not you will consent to an engagement between us. If you need time to consider or data on which to formulate I will of course be glad to accede either. Hoping this will not be distasteful, allow me to sign

Your Obed. Servt.  
 Fred'c Remington  
 Ex. Chamber  
 Albany  
 N.Y. 36

Mr. Caten refused to give his permission at this time, probably because Remington could offer Eva no security.<sup>37</sup> Frederic was hurt by the rejection of his suit. This disappointment and his father's death earlier the same year (1880), were major set-backs in young Remington's life. He knew that he had failed to win Eva because he had no money, nor any future working in Albany. Where might he gain that security? Why, in the West. For a young man in the late nineteenth century, the fastest way to make a fortune was to go west. Thus, with some of the money his father had left him, and with a firm desire to "become a millionaire," Frederic Remington, a thick-chested, nineteen-year-old Easterner, set out across the continent to

strike it rich and so win the girl he loved.<sup>38</sup>

This romantic gesture, closing the formative phase of Remington's life, was a fitting climax to a boyhood that clearly fathered the man.

Frederic Remington's close childhood association with his father explains many of his later interests. No doubt the fact that young Remington attended Highland Military Academy and early expressed a preference for soldiers and horses as art subjects stems from his father having been a cavalry officer. And too, the Remington family had been represented in every American war since the Revolution. Later, when faced with danger in the West, Remington reacted with the same characteristic coolness his father had exhibited at Doyal's plantation in 1864.<sup>39</sup>

Remington's first career choice was journalism. His father's stint as a newspaperman from 1865 to 1873 may well account for this. Also, Frederic showed a marked preference and some talent for rhetoric and composition while in school. But in 1878 art was his second choice as far as his life's work was concerned, though his desire to "study for an artist anyhow," shows where Remington's real interest lay. The years at the military academy provided him with a stimulating atmos-



phere of soldiering and athletics. His friends Wilder and Turner kindled Remington's interest in art; but later, the Yale Art School seems to have discouraged him from becoming an artist for several years. Fortunately, a deep need for artistic expression soon compelled him to begin sketching and painting again.

It was a blend of cockiness and a romantic nature that prompted Frederic Remington to journey west in 1881. The next few years were to prove the toughest of all.

## CHAPTER II

### IN THE WEST: 1881-1885

In August 1881, Frederic Remington left his home town of Canton, New York and headed West. His destination seems to have been the Montana cattle-country, where he hoped to find work as a cowboy.<sup>1</sup> Although there is no extant journal of this first trip, it is reasonably certain that Remington gave this plan up after a short time, and took to the trail.<sup>2</sup> He roamed as far north as Canada and south to the Arizona Territory. These early travels lasted only three months, but they formed a turning point in Frederic's life; for, it was while in Montana that Remington decided to become an earning artist.<sup>3</sup>

One evening, on a trek along the Yellowstone River trail, Remington happened onto the camp of a wagon freighter. The old timer shared his meal with him, and the two men soon struck up a conversation. The freighter told Frederic how he had gone west while still a young man, and since then he had moved further west, pushed by the successive frontiers; until, as the old timer said, "now there is no more West." This statement had a sobering effect on young Remington. He later wrote:

The old man had closed my very entrancing book almost at the first chapter. I knew the railroad

was coming--I saw men already swarming into the land. I knew the derby hat, the smoking chimneys, the cord-binder, and the thirty-day note were upon us in a resistless surge. I knew the wild riders and the vacant land were about to vanish forever, and the more I considered the subject the bigger the Forever /sic/loomed.

Without knowing exactly how to do it, I began to try to record some facts around me, and the more I looked the more the panorama unfolded. . .<sup>4</sup>

Although the Eastern magazines were in the market for fresh pictures from the West, becoming an illustrator during "the golden age of illustration," was no easy matter.<sup>5</sup> From Wyoming, Remington sent a little sketch made on a piece of crumpled wrapping paper to the editor of Harper's Weekly, George William Curtis. Remington felt he was taking a chance, for he had never had anything published in a big magazine before; nevertheless, the sketch was accepted.<sup>6</sup>

A staff artist for Harper's, William A. Rogers, was given the job of re-drawing the sketch for publication.<sup>7</sup> Rogers wrote of a later meeting with Remington during which they discussed this picture:

I listened to his story with keen interest, for I remembered with how much pleasure I had made a drawing on wood from that little crumpled sketch, and I recalled then having admired it greatly. . .

"Yes," said Remington, "it was you who introduced me to the public. That was my first appearance and I was mighty glad I fell into the hands of an artist who knew a cowboy saddle and a Western horse. . ."<sup>8</sup>

Remington's illustration appeared in the February 25, 1882, issue of Harper's Weekly. It was entitled "Cow-boys of Arizona--Roused by a Scout," and it depicted a mounted cowboy warning his sleeping comrades of danger nearby (see plate VIII). Although the drawing was crude, it contained the essential elements of every good illustration. Remington's drawing captured the high point of the action. The horse pulled up to a sliding halt, the rider pointing off to the left, and the men on the ground stirring from sleep, all gave the composition a sense of expectation.<sup>9</sup>

A news article described the illustration. The "Cow-boys," who then numbered about fifty in Arizona, were in reality cattle rustlers. Cattle stealing was so serious in the vicinity of Tombstone, Arizona, that, according to the article, "the Arizona 'Cow-boys'. . . threaten to become of national importance..". The solution to the problem, Harper's Weekly felt, was "to allow the civil authorities to call in the cavalry. . ." However, Congress hesitated to do so. The purpose of the article and illustration was to pressure the legislature into acting.<sup>10</sup>

Remington had returned to the East by October of 1881 to talk to Curtis about publishing more of his sketches,<sup>11</sup> but, Harper's was not in the market to buy his pictures. Frederic's

success was to be followed by three years during which he sold nothing. Remington returned to Albany, New York, in 1881, where he held several jobs.<sup>12</sup> But the West held an attraction for him which he did not forget. He kept his interest alive by corresponding with an old Yale classmate, Robert Camp, who had bought a sheep ranch in Kansas. Camp made arrangements in 1883 for Remington to do the same.<sup>13</sup> By February 28, 1883, Remington had resigned his job and was leaving for the West "in a few days."<sup>14</sup> Camp met him in Peabody, Kansas, early in March, 1883. They visited the Camp ranch and then rode over and looked at a ranch Remington planned to buy.<sup>15</sup>

That April, Remington purchased the southwest quarter of Section 25 Township 23, Range 3, for \$3,400. On May 31, 1883, Remington purchased the southeast quarter of Section 26, Township 23, Range 3 from Charles W. and Sara Potwin for \$1,250.<sup>16</sup> The total cost of Remington's ranch is estimated at about \$6,650. Part of this money was taken from his inheritance from his father, and part he borrowed from his mother.<sup>17</sup>

Remington's ranch was next to Camp's ranch and these two friends spent a great deal of time together (see plates V and VI). In Kansas, Remington also had two other friends: James Chapman of Illinois, who ran a sheep ranch nearby, and "Charles

B--," an Englishman.<sup>18</sup> Another Westerner closely associated with Remington was Bill Kehr, his hired ranch-hand. Remington looked after the horses, herded sheep, and did the cooking while Bill Kehr did everything else.<sup>19</sup>

During the first few months Remington was moody and did not mix with the men, though he was close to James Chapman during this time.<sup>20</sup> His moodiness was probably the result of several things--an unfortunate love affair, his father's death, and no real interest in art. However, in the summer of 1883 this melancholy left him and Remington settled down to ranch life.<sup>21</sup> In July the ranch was running smoothly, and Remington left the ranch in the hands of Bill Kehr while he and George Shepard of Peabody, Kansas, went on a horseback trip into the Southwest. Probably they went down into the New Mexico Territory, although we do not know for certain.<sup>22</sup> A few weeks later, Remington returned to be on hand for the arrival of his uncle, Lamartine Remington, who was coming from the East to visit.<sup>23</sup>

On Christmas Eve, 1883, there occurred an incident which probably led in part to Remington's selling his ranch and abandoning ranch life.<sup>24</sup> Most of the residents of Plum Grove, Kansas and the ranchers from the neighborhood gathered at the

schoolhouse for a party. Remington and his friends arrived after having some drinks. They began throwing paper wads and small balls of mud at the bald head of a leading citizen. The men were asked to leave. Outside, they gathered some straw and set fire to it near the window of the schoolhouse. A near-panic broke out as the people hurried from the building.<sup>25</sup>

Remington and his friends were taken to court, but the case was dismissed, though Frederic had to pay the damages and the lawyer's fees. After the incident Remington's popularity suffered and he felt bad about the prank.<sup>26</sup> It may have been for this and other reasons that he decided to sell the ranch. On December 29, 1883, Remington wrote to his friend Arthur Merkle saying that he was

. . . trying to sell here and go somewhere else. . . and when I get my money out of this scheme I am going further West. . . and there tackle some business--either hardware or whiskey--or anything else. I should like nothing better in the world than to find a partner in who I had a little money. You are acquainted with the hardware biz/sic/ I believe. Why not start a hardware ranch out West?<sup>27</sup>

According to Robert Camp, Remington "didn't take a great deal of interest in the actual work of the sheep ranch."<sup>28</sup> Frederic preferred to hire neighborhood boys to take care of the horses and herd the sheep while he went off and sketched

or roamed about.<sup>29</sup> Remington's art work done in 1883 (see plate VII) was an accurate view of Kansas ranch life, but not equal to the caliber of a good Harper's Weekly illustration. These sketches lacked the action so evident in "Cow-boys of Arizona--Roused by a scout," which had appeared in Harper's Weekly in 1882, and in Remington's later work.

Discouraged with sheep ranching, and somewhat of an out-cast because of the Christmas prank, Remington decided to sell his ranch to a D.M. Greene. Mention of the sale appeared in the January 24, 1884 issue of the Peabody Gazette. However, Frederic stayed on until May of 1884.<sup>30</sup>

Remington moved to Kansas City in 1884, and with the money he received from his ranch, he bought a small house and one-third interest in one of the largest saloons in the town.<sup>31</sup> Now he could give more time to his art work and still receive an income. Just when he had what appeared a good income, Frederic's two partners cheated him out of his share. Remington was set to go after the swindlers with a revolver when an interested spectator intervened.<sup>32</sup>

The man talked Remington out of taking his revenge, and the two became fast friends. The intruder turned out to be Emerson Hough, who was then a struggling writer in Kansas



City.<sup>33</sup> Hough took Remington home to meet his wife. Hellie Hough later wrote of this meeting with Remington:

One morning in the spring of 1884 I stood looking down the street from our front veranda, in Kansas City, Mo. I saw my husband coming along the walk with a veritable giant at his side. He turned in at the gate and the stranger came with him. The visitor I observed was blond, with large blue eyes which shone with the light of youth. He loomed large beside my husband, looking very much like some Greek god in modern clothes. His strength was so evident in the poise of his head that he seemed the embodiment of power and force. "My dear," said my husband, "this is Frederick sic Remington, a young newspaper man who lives up the street; I wanted you to meet him." As it was just about the hour for lunch I invited him to share it with us. During the meal he did not talk a great deal, but he manifested a nervousness which I thought was somewhat singular in so powerful a man, but that is merely because his size made it impossible to think of him as a boy. . . .<sup>34</sup>

Remington had planned to go back East and marry Eva Caten, but now that he had lost his money and even his little house, this seemed impossible.<sup>35</sup> The winter was approaching and Frederic found himself in a saloon one day with only a quarter in his pocket.<sup>36</sup> Henry Harper, who headed the publishing firm of Harper Brothers, later told the story of how Remington reached New York in 1884:

As he entered an unprepossessing little inn in the evening he noticed that there was a game of poker in progress in the open bar-room, and he took in the situation at a glance: two professional gamblers were plucking a man who looked like an Eastern drummer. Remington watched the players for a few minutes

and then suggested to the commercial traveler that he had better stop and go up to bed. The savage looks of the two gamblers put Remington on his guard and he whipped out his gun, told the card-sharpers to hold up their hands, and covered his retreat until he and his be-friended companion were safe in the man's bedroom and he locked and barricaded the door. Remington anticipating further trouble, sat with his gun ready all night; and when he heard stealthy steps outside their door several hours later on, he gave the rustlers clear evidence that he was awake and ready for action. Remington's new-found friend was overwhelming in his gratitude and begged to know what he could do to recompense Remington for his assistance. Remington said that he desired to go to New York, but lacked the requisite funds. The upshot was that his new acquaintance was also on his way to the same city, and invited Remington to accompany him at his expense. . . .<sup>37</sup>

Returned to the East, Frederic's first stop was Gloversville, New York, where he met Eva. Without Mr. Caten's assent, the couple took out a marriage license on October 1, 1884, and were married two days later.<sup>38</sup> Faced with his new role as husband and provider, Remington set out for New York City in hopes of selling some of his western sketches to publishers. One of the first offices he visited was that of Henry Harper who later described the meeting:

When. . . Frederic Remington first appeared in our office he looked like a cowboy just off a ranch, which, in fact, was the case. The sketches which he brought with him were very crude, but had the ring of new and live material. . . .<sup>39</sup>

One of these sketches was selected for the cover of the

March 28, 1885 issue of Harper's Weekly. It was redrawn by Thur de Thulstrup, and entitled "Ejecting an 'Oklahoma Boomer'". The illustration pictured a family of "boomers" being escorted out of the Oklahoma region by four cavalry men. With the drawing appeared an article describing the plight of these squatters. About a thousand "boomers" were camped outside of Arkansas City, Kansas, preparing to invade and settle the nearby Indian Territory called "Oklahoma." The Ninth Cavalry under the command of General Hatch was posted opposite the boomer camp to keep them out.<sup>40</sup>

Frederic was convinced that only by returning to the West, and sketching the happenings there, could he ever make a success of it as an illustrator. Thus in 1884, he and his bride traveled to Kansas City.<sup>41</sup>

Hough was one of the first to greet Eva when she arrived, and described her in this way: "Mrs. Remington was a slight dark woman with large wistful eyes. Remington always called her 'Missie'".<sup>42</sup>

Although Frederic was able to sell some of his art work in and around Kansas City, in particular to art dealer William W. Findlay,<sup>43</sup> he could not support a wife with his earnings. And so Eva returned to Gloversville and her family. After she

left, Remington moved his belongings into the Hough's home and stayed with them for a time.<sup>44</sup>

During this interval Frederic continued painting. According to Nellie Hough, "Remington would sit for hours and draw first one thing and then another, but all showing the influence of the West. . ."<sup>45</sup> One day Mrs. Hough asked Remington to sketch her baby, whereupon he replied:

"Mrs. Hough, if I did you would turn me out of your house forever, for it would look like a papoose. I am not a portrait painter. . . I nearly lost my 'Missie' because I had her pose for a senorita in a picture. When it was finished she looked like a Mexican woman of the most ordinary desert type."<sup>46</sup>

While Remington was staying with Emerson Hough and his wife, his mother came from the East to persuade Frederic to give up his wish to become an artist and take a "real man's job." Frederic stood firm and soon Mrs. Remington was forced to return home unsuccessful.<sup>47</sup>

After his mother left, Remington set out on horseback for the Southwest.<sup>48</sup> There, he hoped to make some sketches of the recently erupted Apache War. Renegade Apache Indians, led by Geronimo, were raiding and plundering ranches in the Arizona and New Mexico territories. General George Crook and his men had failed to stop these Indians, partly because international

law forbade the United States Army from pursuing the Apaches into Mexico, and partly because the Apache was extremely cunning and elusive.<sup>49</sup>

The hostilities were to drag on for several years before Geronimo and his renegades were captured. However, Remington returned to Kansas City after a short time with his portfolio filled with sketches. Frederic's first act was to visit Emerson and Nellie Hough. He called up the stairway of their home one morning, "Say, Hough, can you give me something to eat?" Later Remington explained that he had become so lonesome for 'Missie' that he left Apache country and was on his way east. Frederic borrowed money from Emerson Hough and after a short stay set out for New York<sup>50</sup> to join his wife in Brooklyn.<sup>51</sup>

During the first year of residence in Brooklyn, Remington suffered a severe attack of rheumatism in his right arm, probably the result of camping on the cold ground out West.<sup>52</sup> He took a job as a clerk, but after one day, quit.<sup>53</sup> These were lean times for the Remingtons, and they lived on borrowed money throughout most of 1885.<sup>54</sup>

Then a breakthrough came in the latter part of 1885 that was to see Remington suddenly become a popular illustrator. Harper's Weekly bought several sketches he had made while in

the Southwest that summer. Remington's pictures of the Apaches and the Army scouts in Arizona and New Mexico were on-the-spot illustrations which complemented the recent news despatches concerning the Apache War. This was the first fresh look the East had had of the Indian trouble and Remington was almost an overnight sensation.<sup>55</sup>

Two of Remington's pictures appeared in Harper's in 1886. "The Apache War--Indian Scouts on Geronimo's Trail," reached the front of the January 9, 1886 issue. Although it was crudely drawn, the editors thought enough of Remington's picture to place it on the cover of the magazine. What the sketch lacked in style it made up in appeal; most important of all, it sold magazines.

The second Remington picture also emerged in the January issue. "The Apaches are Coming," represented a common scene in certain areas of the Southwest at that time. A mounted rider warning a farmer of the approach of Apache raiders told a dramatic story in this picture. The haunting look in the faces of the listeners must have left those who saw the picture with a sympathetic dread of the unknown menace.

In both of his pictures, Remington left part of the story untold. The danger of Apache hostilities was real and imminent

to the settlers of the Southwest, and as the critical editor of the Weekly saw it:

As the settlements increase in number and population, the need of protection increases, and the capacity of the settlers for self-protection becomes a positive assurance that they will act with increasing vigor, and not always wisely.<sup>56</sup>

Since Frederic Remington's decision to become an illustrator in 1881, until he sold his first collection of sketches in late 1885, and thus launched his art career, he had worked incessantly, developing skill in his chosen profession. The first sketch he sold to Harper's in 1882 was so crude it had to be redrawn, but Remington's talent was quite evident even at this early date. Three years of fruitless striving followed his initial success. During this time, Frederic worked as a rancher, saloon-keeper, prospector, and at several other occupations; however, always his art work came first, even before his wife.

Late in 1884 Remington received encouragement from the sale of a second drawing which prompted him to try to paint for a living. He failed and so went West. Then in 1885, with a portfolio of new pictures, Remington made the rounds of the New York publishers once again. After having failed in all his efforts for so many years, Frederic Remington became, within a

few months, one of the foremost illustrators of the West.



### CHAPTER III

#### COVERING THE INDIAN WARS; 1886-1891

Frederic Remington was an artist of the military. Just as George Catlin had preferred drawing Indians, and Winslow Homer seamen, so Remington loved nothing better than to sketch the stiff-backed trooper astride his lean mount. During his first full year as a working illustrator in 1886, no less than twenty-eight out of thirty drawings appearing in Harper's Weekly were of army subjects. In the single issue he did for Outing magazine the same year, all ten sketches had a military bearing.<sup>1</sup> Although in later years his work covered a much wider range of disciplines, the preponderance of Remington's drawings and paintings were military in nature.

Encouraged by the public's acceptance of his art work, and no doubt urged on by Harper's, Remington returned to the Southwest in 1886 to cover the final phases of the Apache War.<sup>2</sup> Up until April of that year General George Crook had pursued the Apache raiders without results. On April 2, he was relieved of his post by Brigadier General Nelson Appleton Miles, when Miles received orders from Army Headquarters, Washington, D.C., "to command the Department of Arizona. . ." <sup>3</sup> Where

Crook had failed, Miles was to be spectacularly successful.

Small parties of Apaches, lead by Geronimo, Natchez, and Mangus had been raiding parts of Arizona and New Mexico territories from the bases in the Sierra Madre Mountains in Mexico. Faced with the task of rooting out the Indians from their lair, Miles hit upon the idea of using

. . . for our benefit and their discomfiture, the very elements that had been the greatest obstacles in that whole country to their subjugation, namely, the high mountain ranges, the glaring, burning sunlight, and an atmosphere void of moisture. . .<sup>4</sup>

He constructed a system of heliograph relays atop strategic mountain peaks and staffed them with experienced officers and enlisted men. With these instruments the army could send messages between twenty-seven stations in New Mexico and Arizona;<sup>5</sup> in one case relaying a message 700 miles in approximately four hours.<sup>6</sup> Working closely with this detachment were the "vigilant members of the Signal Corps" who used telescopes to watch for hostile Indian parties. Together, these two groups "permitted no movement by day, no cloud of dust even in the valleys below, to escape attention . . ."<sup>7</sup>

Once the system of communication was established and operating, and Indian scouts organized, it remained only for the cavalry units to act on the information supplied. Fortun-

ately at this time

. . . under a treaty or agreement between our government and Mexico, /Miles later wrote, / permission was granted by the Mexican government for our troops to pursue hostile Indians into the territory of Mexico...<sup>8</sup>

General Miles selected Captain H.W. Lawton of the Fourth Cavalry to command the pursuit troops.<sup>9</sup> Lawton made sure his cavalrymen were "perfectly equipped and abundantly supplied, and in such a way as to be independent of wagon transportation. . ."<sup>10</sup>

It was Lawton's troopers who found their way into the pages of Harper's Weekly when Remington picked up the thread of the Apache War in April, 1886. In the issue of the 24th there appeared a sketch called "The Fourth Trooper"<sup>11</sup> showing several cavalrymen dismounted and holding the reins of four horses. These were the "fourth troopers" whose job it was to guard the horses while their comrades engaged in a skirmish with the Indians. To Remington's eye the scene was common and matter-of-fact. However, Harper's felt the picture might confuse the uninitiated Easterner and so supplemented the sketch with several paragraphs of explanation.<sup>12</sup> This was a practice the Weekly followed with Remington's pictures for some years to come.

Captain Lawton's troops "pursed the savages from one

range of mountains to another for three months."<sup>13</sup> During the assignment, his men marched over 1,396 miles before they met with any measure of success in locating the Indians.<sup>14</sup> The Apaches were hiding in the vicinity of Sonora, Mexico, and it is there that Lawton and Remington crossed trails. Five of Frederic's sketches of Sonora appeared in the August 7, 1886 issue of Harper's Weekly.<sup>15</sup> Lawton's account of this particular Apache campaign appeared in Century some years later:

. . . Mountaineers from infancy, they [the Apaches] found little difficulty in passing through the roughest country. The cactus and various roots furnished food; water or its equivalent was also furnished by the former plant; rats, mice, rabbits and deer contributing the meat ration, also the horse when forced as far as he could carry his rider. During the latter part of June and July [1886] it was my good fortune to command the infantry. In the detachment of Companies D. and K, 8th infantry, were men who had served in India and South Africa, and, in their opinion, this was by far the hardest and roughest service they had ever seen. . . Infantry on this expedition marched in drawers and undershirts...<sup>16</sup>

Remington's coverage of the Apache War continued in the August 21, issue of the Weekly with the cover picture, "Soldiering in the Southwest--the Rescue of Corporal Scott." Several sketches labeled "Types from Arizona" were found inside.<sup>17</sup> Then in the September 25, 1886 issue an article appeared accompanying a Remington drawing which wrote the finish to the Apache War:

. . . The surrender of Geronimo and Natchez and their companions on September 4, 1886 gives additional interest to every event of the long Apache campaign thus happily brought to a close. There is no more pathetic incident in the whole chase of these hostilities, which lasted from May till September, than the burial of the dead at Frontares, Mexico, a sketch of which, made on the spot, is published this week. . .<sup>18</sup>

With the conclusion of the Apache War and the relocation of the Indians, Remington returned home. He had made a considerable number of drawings of the uprising while in the West; however, Harper's already had more pictures than they needed and so Frederic had to make the rounds of the publishing houses in New York City. It was in the editorial offices of Outing magazine that Remington met an old friend from Yale, Poultney Bigelow. Bigelow described that meeting many years later:

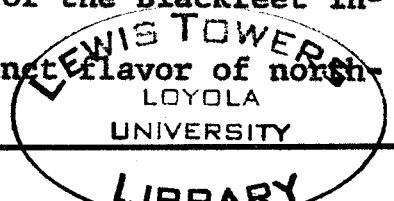
One day at the Outing office I was hard at work making up a forthcoming number. I was interrupted by a vast portfolio in the hands of some intruding one. Of course, I knew that this meant looking at some drawings and probably turning away some artist who needed money and needed still more of the qualities to make success. Feeling cross and weary, I did not even look up at the huge visitor, but held out my hand for the drawings. He pushed one at me, and it was as though he had given me an electric shock. Here was the real thing. . . I looked at the signature--Remington. There was nothing, however, to suggest the work of my homonymous fellow-student of Yale.

I was delighted at my discovery and said to him, "It's an odd coincidence, I had a classmate at Yale. . . ." But before I could add another word out he roared: "Hell! Big--is that you?" and so it was after a ten-year interval.<sup>19</sup>

Remington's work for Outing began with the December, 1886 issue. He illustrated a serialization of the military journal of Lieutenant John Bigelow Jr., entitled "After Geronimo." The series proved an excellent marketplace for Remington's backlog of Arizona sketches made the year before.

Frederic did a variety of pictures for the Weekly during 1887 as its artist-correspondent. "Sketches on a Man-of-War Under Sailing Orders--the Last on Board," showed sailors boarding the Vermont, a ship of the United States Navy anchored in the Brooklyn Navy-yard.<sup>20</sup> That June there appeared two half page illustrations of horses and riders, done at a local race track. The running horses were pictured with all four feet off the ground.<sup>21</sup> This was unusual, for Remington was one of the few illustrators to picture horses in this manner, even though Eadweard Muybridge, using photography had discovered some years earlier that a running horse sometimes lifts all four feet off the ground.<sup>22</sup>

Remington spent some part of 1887 in the Northwest sketching the Crow and Blackfeet Indians.<sup>23</sup> Frederic's pictures for Harper's beginning with "The Buffalo Dance" in the May issue and a series of sketches, "In the Lodges of the Blackfeet Indians," for the July number, have a distinct flavor of north-



ern plains.<sup>24</sup>

Then in November, 1887, Harper's Weekly carried an article and illustration of a Crow Indian rebellion. The Crow Indian Agency attempted to arrest some Crow braves for stealing back horses from a neighboring tribe. The Crows resented this interference and retaliated by shooting their rifles into the Agency buildings. The Indian agency called in the troops and a stalemate resulted.<sup>25</sup>

By November, Frederic was in Canton with his wife, Eva, spending "the season." But no matter where Remington went he almost invariably took his pencil--this vacation was no exception. He took one weekend to see a football game. No doubt Remington recalled his own days on the Yale eleven when he drew "College Players at Football--A Tackle and Ball-Down" for the cover of Harper's.<sup>26</sup>

Frederic also finished up a group of pictures of the Canadian Mounted Police, several of which appeared in Harper's Weekly during 1887 and 1888. These pictures were part of an assignment for the Canadian Pacific Railroad.<sup>27</sup>

In June of 1888 Frederic left Eva once more to travel to the Southwest. After a week's time he had reached Denning, New Mexico, only to miss his western connection by one hour.

Frederic took the delay in stride, but jokingly complained about the railroads in a letter to Eva:

. . . It's a d\_\_ shame--just wait till I get to be in Grover's place /President Grover Cleveland/--I'll condemn all railroads and make the people walk or ride a burro. . . .<sup>28</sup>

After a short layover at Denning, he moved on to Fort Grant, Arizona, the home of the Tenth United States Cavalry. No sooner had Remington brushed the dust from his clothes than his friend, Lieutenant Watson, strode into his room. "Well," Watson said, "the K.O. [sic] has ordered me out for a two-week's scouting up the San Carlos Way, and I'm off in the morning. Would you like to go with me?" In a rash moment Remington replied, "I'll go."<sup>29</sup>

General Miles had given a general order that periodically, scouting parties would be sent out from the chain of forts that surrounded the San Carlos reservation. This was a preventive against the recurrence of another Apache War.

The next day, Remington "pulled out" of Fort Grant with Lieutenant Watson and five Negro troopers. The trip took the group through the Sierra Bonitos, the Mescal Range, and the Pinal Mountains. "It was tough," Remington later told Eva, "the toughest thing I ever went through. The climb was like going up stairs continually, only after a stupor. The mid-



summer's heat was unbearable; the water nearly boiled in the canteen. If it had not been for my helmet, I could not have stood it."<sup>30</sup>

Finally, after several days, Frederic and the troopers reached the San Carlos Indian Reservation. Here they had an opportunity to observe the Apaches receiving their rations. Remington took out his pencil and set to work, but only for a short time:

. . . Great excitement prevailed when it was discovered that I was using a sketch-book, and I was forced to disclose the half-finished visage of one villanous face to their gaze. It was straightway torn up, and I was requested, with many scowls and grunts, to discontinue that pastime, for Apaches more than any other Indian dislike to have portraits made. . . .<sup>31</sup>

In due time the party headed back to Fort Grant and civilization. When Remington arrived, he immediately retreated to the cool shade to write a letter to Eva. He told his wife that the scouting expedition was "a very successful trip and will help me professionally. . ." He vowed when he came home, they would "put up a job and have some fun."<sup>32</sup>

The "job" appeared in the Century for April, 1889. It consisted of an article by Remington about his adventuring during 1888 and was illustrated with sketches. Remington drew himself into many of the scenes. "Marching in the Mountains"

shows Frederic clad in cavalry breeches, riding boots, six-gun, kerchief, gloves, and white helmet, which seems to have been his favorite outfit while in the West.

If Remington's trip helped him professionally, 1888 saw two other events that also aided his art career. In that year he secured the commission to illustrate a number of Theodore Roosevelt's articles for Century.<sup>33</sup> This business relationship was to become a solid friendship over the years. Also in 1888, one of Remington's pictures was shown at an exhibition of the American Water-Color Society. Harper's Weekly in describing the exhibit mentioned Remington's as "a spirited bit. . ."<sup>34</sup> The event marked the emergence of Remington's illustrations into the world of legitimate art.

Perhaps one of the most significant trip Remington made in the 1880's was a journey to the land of the Cheyennes. Frederic and a cowboy, whom he had met on the way, arrived one night at Fort Reno, Wyoming, with the aid of an Indian scout.<sup>35</sup> On the following morning, Remington presented his credentials at the headquarters office and was introduced to Ben Clark, a "nom-com" and interpreter. Frederic later described the lean soldier:

Mr. Clark I found to be all the colonel had rec-

commended, except that he did not look like a Cheyenne, being a perfect type of the frontier scout.<sup>36</sup>

A buckboard was provided and the two men set out on a tour of inspection. The plight of the Indians on the reservation made a deep impression on Frederic's sensitive artistic nature. The Cheyenne Reservation was barren land, unsuitable for farming, and it prompted Remington to say: "Where white men despair, I for one do not expect wild Indians to continue. . ."<sup>37</sup>

For the educational system, too, Frederic had little praise:

The present scheme of taking a few boys and girls away from the camps to put them in school where they are taught English, morals, and trades has nothing reprehensible about it, except that it is absolutely of no consequence so far as solving the Indian problem. . .<sup>38</sup>

Frederic saw too many educated little boys return to the Indian camps, only to revert to their old ways. "In a year one cannot tell a schoolboy from any other little savage. . . ,"<sup>39</sup> Remington remarked.

The Cheyenne Indians divided all whites into the category of a soldier or a "big chief from Washington."<sup>40</sup> The chiefs from Washington were officials of the Indian Bureau whose policy it was to be kind and beneficent, distributing goods, arms, and money, and settling Indian disputes, all of which aimed at making the Indian peace-loving. This plan irritated the Army

officials who felt sternness and a constant display of military strength was far more effective in keeping the Indian in line.<sup>41</sup>

Remington saw the picture from the Army's standpoint and he did not hesitate to voice his views:

The so-called Indian problem is no problem at all in reality, only that it has been made one by a long succession of acts which were masterly in their imbecility and were fostered by political avarice.... No one not directly interested ever questioned that the Indian Department should have been attached to the War Department; but that is too patent a fact to discuss. . . . The views which I have on the subject are not original, but are very old and very well understood by all men who live in the Indian countries. They are current among Army officers who have spent their whole lives on the Indian frontier. . . .<sup>42</sup>

Frederic saw relief for the Indian tribes only in a scheme that began at the bottom; a plan that would take the "whole outfit" in its scope.<sup>43</sup>

Remington had a premonition that there might be trouble in the Sioux lands. Hearing of unrest among the tribes in South Dakota, he set off to join General Miles at Fort Keough. Before accepting an invitation to accompany him, Frederic had asked the general if he would travel with wagons. "He assured me," Remington later wrote, "he was not a 'wagon man'. . . ."<sup>44</sup> In fact, Miles had the reputation for setting a pace on the trail that would "put many a corn on a dough-boy's foot."<sup>45</sup>

Traveling with the general offered Frederic his first opportunity to observe the Cheyenne dog soldiers in action. He described them with pride after seeing them at Fort Keough:

Patter, patter, patter--clank, clank, clank; up comes the company of Cheyenne scouts who are to escort the general--fine-looking, tall young men, with long hair and mounted on small Indian ponies. They were dressed and accoutred as United States soldiers, and they fill the eyes of a military man until nothing is lacking.<sup>46</sup>

Following the troopers was no easy matter, and Remington's two-hundred and fifteen pounds made it even more difficult for his horse. He described his friend Miles:

General Miles has acquired his knowledge of riding from wild Indians, and wild Indians go uphill and downhill as a matter of course at whatever gait they happen to be traveling. He would make his horse climb a tree with equal gravity if he were bound that way.<sup>47</sup>

The cavalry reached the camp on Lane Deer Creek at dusk. "That night was very cold, and I slept badly," Remington wrote later.<sup>48</sup> The next day they moved on to the battlefield of the Little Big Horn. Then on to the Crow Agency and Fort Custer.<sup>49</sup> When Frederic pulled into the fort he was covered with dust from the grueling ride and his trousers were filled with gaping holes. He thumped his hat several times to give it "a more rakish appearance," and was reluctantly led off to meet the local socialites.<sup>50</sup>

After covering more than two hundred and fifty miles in thirty-six hours chasing Major-General Miles he mused:

If the United States Army was strung out in a line with its general ahead, and if he should ride out into the broad Atlantic and swim to sea, the whole United States Army would follow along, for that's the idea, you know.<sup>51</sup>

It was fitting that Frederic Remington should be on hand for the last great Indian uprising in the West. He had seen unrest grow among the redmen throughout western America as a result of the cruel treatment they received at the hands of the whites. Frederic could not fail to see that it was only a matter of time before the outbreak would come. It occurred in South Dakota in December of 1890.

In the seventies a belief developed among the plains Indians that a messiah would come to eliminate the whites and unite all Indians, living and dead, in a paradise on Earth. Various prophets predicted the coming throughout the Indian nations, but those among the Sioux gathered the largest following. Plagued by crop failure, disease, and white encroachment, the Sioux warriors turned to the new religion. Soon the braves were donning "ghost shirts"<sup>52</sup> and going through elaborate ceremonial dances before setting off on raids of nearby white settlements.<sup>53</sup>

The messiah craze might have died out had the Indian agents

not called in the United States Cavalry. When the troopers arrived with Major-General Miles, Remington was right behind. He and Lieutenant Edward Casey were to scout the Bad Lands for Sioux "ghost shirts." Casey had orders from Miles not to fire on the Indians, but rather to observe their movements and outflank them if they began to move into the Cheyenne area. After spending some days in the field, Casey sent a Mr. Thompson, two Indian scouts, a teamster, and Remington to Pine Ridge for supplies.<sup>54</sup>

Frederic trotted beside the wagon for some miles when suddenly the group was confronted by a Sioux warrior. The buck told them to turn back. Soon other Indians joined the first, and Thompson and Remington saw the situation was dangerous. They turned the wagon around and began to move; slowly at first, then at full gallop.<sup>55</sup>

Bang! bang! bang! and the bullets whistle around and kick up the dust. Away we go.

Here is where the great beauty of American character comes out. Nothing can be taken seriously by men used to danger....<sup>56</sup>

Riding hard, the men reached Casey's camp "in a blaze of excitement." The Cheyenne scouts were in war paint and had the Sioux chased Remington's companions into the camp, Casey's orders would have been broken.<sup>57</sup>

Late that night Remington was awakened by Captain Baldwin

of General Miles's staff, and told to saddle up for a night's ride to the Pine Ridge camp. This was the end of Remington's adventures with Casey. "We shook hands cheerily in the dim candle-light of the tepee, and agreeing to meet in New York at some not distant day. . .<sup>58</sup>

Two days later Frederic rode into the Pine Ridge Agency with Baldwin. Reports had already reached the encampment concerning a bitter fight at Wounded Knee, about twenty-five miles away, in which there were many casualties. However, when a burial party left for the site, Frederic was too tired to go along. Instead he rode over to the Seventh Cavalry camp to talk with the survivors at the field hospital. "They told me their stories in that inimitable way which is studied art with warriors."<sup>59</sup> One soldier summed up the fanaticism of the Sioux. He told Remington:

When I passed over the field after the fight one warrior who was near to his death asked me to take him over to the medicine-man's side, that he might die with his knife in the old conjurer's heart. He had seen that the medicine was bad, and his faith in the ghost shirt had vanished. There was no doubt that every buck there thought no bullet could touch him.<sup>60</sup>

Three days later Frederic was on a train headed for New York. After breakfast in the diner, Remington opened the morning newspaper. The headlines read, "Lieutenant E.W. Casey



Shot." He could not help thinking that the Sioux had killed a very real friend.<sup>61</sup>

He returned to New York City in January, 1891, and wrote and illustrated a series of articles on the Sioux uprising. The first of these appeared in Harper's Weekly, January 24, 1891, and was entitled, "The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota." On January 31, the second article appeared, "Lieutenant Casey's Last Scout." On February 7, the third article was published, "The Sioux War."

Between 1886 and 1891 Frederic Remington made five important trips west to paint and illustrate the United States Army's clashes with the Indians. He traveled almost exclusively to army posts and took scouting treks with the troopers. His talk was colored by army jargon and his pictures were rugged studies of raw-boned soldiers. All his efforts for Harper's, Outing, and Century were focused on presenting the true picture of how the Indian was being dealt with by these men who "found more hard work than glory in their calling."<sup>62</sup>

## CHAPTER IV

### MEN WITH THE BARK ON

The close of the frontier in the 1890's and the gradual emergence of the United States from a period of isolation and national self-interest produced a marked change in Frederic Remington's artistic career. In the decade prior to this, Remington had achieved fame as a western illustrator-correspondent; however, with the subjugation of the Indian and the settlement of the frontier, interest in the West dissipated and Remington was forced to follow new trails. Two possibilities lay open to him: he could abandon work as an illustrator and set about becoming an earning artist; or he could continue working for Harper's, keeping in step with the growing interest in things European by sketching civil and military life abroad. Remington chose the latter course.<sup>1</sup>

In 1892, Frederic's old school chum, Poultney Bigelow, asked Remington to journey to Russia with him. Bigelow had been commissioned by the United States government to make a report on shoreline conservation on the Baltic Sea and to determine whether similar methods might be utilized to protect our Atlantic coast. To accomplish this, Bigelow and Remington "proposed sailing from St. Petersburg the whole length of the Baltic,

making notes and sketches: as they went along.<sup>2</sup> For the trip two expensive canoes were to be sent ahead, each outfitted with a folding centerboard, sails, and two water-tight compartments.<sup>3</sup>

The expedition was plagued from the outset with red-tape and intrigue. Despite the fact that both men had been issued special passports on March fourth by Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, granting them unusual freedom abroad, the Russian government was still reluctant to have her shores examined by foreigners.<sup>4</sup> When Remington and Bigelow arrived in Russian-held Warsaw, they were warned by a friend that the Czar's secret police were already following them. This was disheartening to Remington who was more interested in exploring the Russian wilderness than being involved in mystery-story intrigue. After meeting with a secretive friend in the back room of a shop, Remington suggested they return to Germany. "I don't care for Russia, anyway," he told Bigelow when they were alone.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless Bigelow convinced Frederic that he would not want to pass up the adventure the canoe trip might bring. Remington stayed on.

June sixth they arrived in St. Petersburg and after depositing their canoe kits at a hotel, they visited the United States Embassy. The ambassador was absent; however, the pair

talked with one of his aides.<sup>6</sup> Bigelow had sent a written request five days before asking the Embassy to act as liason and secure Russian approval for the canoe trip. The American chargé informed Remington and Bigelow that he had not put in a request because it would surely be denied. When Remington heard this he 'looked ready for a fight.'<sup>7</sup> It was only after much pleading that the chargé agreed to tender a request, despite the fact that it appeared useless.<sup>8</sup>

Frederic and Poultney decided to stay in St. Petersburg for three days, but if during that time no word was received from the Russian government, they would travel to Germany and cruise the coast until permission came.<sup>9</sup> Remington tried to make the best of his stay in St. Petersburg by taking a ride into the country. He had nearly reached the city limits when Russian police overtook him, stopped his carriage and turned it around. Frederic was outraged, but returned to the hotel room. There Bigelow found him pacing the floor "like a caged lion, and venting his feeling in vigorous English."<sup>10</sup>

When the three days had passed, and still no word came, the two men set out for Kovno, where they boarded a steamboat traveling down the Niemen River to the Russian border.<sup>11</sup> On board ship Remington made himself comfortable, took out his

sketchbook and began to draw the passengers. He had not filled many pages before Bigelow felt a hand on his shoulder and a Russian whispered in his ear: "If you don't both of you wish to spend the next few days in jail, make your friend stop his note-making." Bigelow protested, "But he is not making notes; he is a famous American artist, filling his sketch-book with bits of costume."<sup>12</sup> But Bigelow was further warned that two Russian officers were watching Remington closely, and that if he didn't stop they would be jailed for sketching the shoreline fortifications. Bigelow told Remington that he was being watched. Frederic put his pad away after making a hasty sketch of the two officers suspiciously looking on.<sup>13</sup>

When they had reached the end of their journey, Bigelow received a letter from the chargé of the United States Embassy in St. Petersburg saying

. . . that the Russian government simply ignored his application, and by so doing gave him to understand that Remington should not make sketches in Russia, and that the United States deserved a snub for sending a commissioner to inquire about tree planting on the sea-coasts.<sup>14</sup>

Remington waited in Europe for a whole month, hoping from day to day that permission for the trip would be granted.<sup>15</sup> Finally, however, word was received that the police at Kovno, in making a search of their belongings, had smashed the water-

tight compartments of their canoes despite the fact that they had been purposely left unlocked. With no possibility of making the trip on the Baltic, Frederic and Bigelow returned to the United States.<sup>16</sup>

At home they collaborated on several magazine articles telling of their experiences in Russia. The first feature was liberally illustrated with the sketches Remington had made in Warsaw, St. Petersburg and on the Niemen River. Bigelow appropriately entitled the story of their ill-fated canoe trip, "Why We Left Russia," and it appeared in the January, 1893 issue of Harper's Monthly. Public acceptance was undoubtedly favorable for in the succeeding months more articles were included in the pages of the Monthly, one of which was called "In the Barracks of the Czar," done for the April, 1893, issue.<sup>17</sup> In this article Bigelow related a visit he and Remington had made to an army post near Moscow. The sketches Remington contributed reflected the austere atmosphere that had prompted him to call Russia "the sad gray land."<sup>18</sup>

From his home in New Rochelle, New York, Frederic wrote to Bigelow on January 29, 1893,

To-morrow--to-morrow I start for "my people"--  
d\_\_\_\_ Europe--the Czar--the Arts--the Conventional-  
ities--the cooks and the dudes and the women--I go  
to the simple men--men with the bark on--the big

mountains--the great deserts and the scrawny ponies--  
I'm happy.<sup>19</sup>

He set out for the hacienda San Jose de Bavicora, 225 miles northwest of Chihuahua, Mexico.<sup>20</sup> He was invited as special guest of Jack Gilbert to visit his ranch. The isolated Mexican settlement had been purchased by Gilbert in 1882 and except for a few Apache raiders he was sole master of the vast tract. So dependent were the farmers there, that they referred to Gilbert as patron, treating him as a semi-feudal lord.<sup>21</sup>

Frederic was the first to see Gilbert's accomplishments. No doubt he thought of his own ranching efforts in Kansas in 1883, when viewing Gilbert's domain. Remington admired an individual who fought against great odds, even when he knew there was little chance of winning. He knew, too, that his own efforts on the frontier were not unlike Gilbert's; he, too had to struggle against the wilderness to get the pictures he wanted. "Jack himself is the motive force of the enterprise," Remington wrote, "With his strong spirit, the embodiment of generations of pioneers, he faces the Apache, the marauder, the financial risks."<sup>22</sup>

Frederic loved the marvelous color of the country, and the simple, natural life where the cowboy lived so close to the soil. He wrote:

But one must be appreciative of it all, or he will

find a week of rail and a week of stage and a week on horseback all too far for one to travel to see a shadow across the moon.<sup>23</sup>

After putting the finishing touches on his sketches of Mexico, Remington sent them off to Harper's and returned home to New York for a rest.<sup>24</sup>

Then, in the spring of 1894, Remington received word of mob violence in Chicago in connection with a strike against the Pullman Palace Car Company. Workers, already suffering from the financial throes of a depression the year before, walked off their jobs to protest a wage cut. The men were soon joined by members of the American Railway Union, under the lead of Eugene V. Debs. The union sympathized with the strike by refusing to handle Pullman cars. Soon virtually all railway traffic was at a standstill from Cincinnati to San Francisco and hoodlums had joined strikers in Chicago, burning freight cars and destroying railroad property.<sup>25</sup>

The Governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, refused to call out the state militia and the terrorism went on unabated. Finally, President Cleveland intervened in the strike on the grounds that the strikers interfered with the carrying of the mails.<sup>26</sup> Remington traveled to Chicago to report on this federal police action for Harper's Weekly.



As his train approached the heart of the city, Remington saw "hundreds of burning cars, and acres of old carwheels from which the wood-work had gone up in smoke. . . ."27 After leaving the train Frederic hurried to the lake front to visit with and sketch the federal troops. Here he met his old friends of the Seventh Cavalry, veterans of the battle of Wounded Knee and the Sioux uprising in South Dakota a few years earlier.<sup>28</sup>

Shortly after his arrival in Chicago, Remington had an opportunity to see the troopers clash with the mob. Captain L.H. Hare, with troop K, was ordered to the stock yards to disperse a crowd of angry strike sympathizers. After seeing the "mal-odorous crowd of anarchistic foreign trash" run when the troopers arrived, Remington was convinced that the strikers should be treated sternly.<sup>29</sup>

Remington had no sympathy for the strikers or their cause. The entire situation, he felt, was handled badly from the start. "Chicago should have been put under martial law immediately; and a few rioters shot, and this would all have been over before now," Remington later wrote.<sup>30</sup> He blamed the violence in Chicago on two elements: the politicians, whom he called "the fools on top,"<sup>31</sup> and a big foreign population, who were not

"American."<sup>32</sup> Toward Altgeld, Remington was vitriolic: "When a Governor takes the raging, savage, unthinking mob, as it stands in front of the police and the soldiers, into partnership--that's a climax."<sup>33</sup> As a solution to the problem Remington suggested the rioters be "shot up a little, or washed," and a strike settlement would soon follow.<sup>34</sup>

If Remington was harsh with the politicians and the strikers, he had only praise for the soldiers in Chicago. Frederic felt that it was wrong for the troopers to be forced to do the work of policemen. "The task which has fallen to the soldiers out here is too much to ask of such men," Remington wrote. But the fact that a trooper could "stand in front of the howling mobs. . . a perfect mental calm," gave Remington confidence in the timber of the enlisted man.<sup>35</sup>

By August of 1894, Chicago had relaxed. Debs had called off the strike and an order soon followed for the withdrawal of the United States regulars from the city. The troopers moved to nearby Fort Sheridan. Remington rode along to Sheridan and then back to New York for a rest before tackling another assignment for Harper's.<sup>36</sup>

Nothing could have been further from his mind in 1894 than a second trip to Europe. Never-the-less, when Frederic heard

that "Big" was planning to go to North Africa to inspect a stock of Arabian horses and later to see the stud farm of Emperor William II, he was immediately eager to leave.<sup>37</sup>

For the most part, Remington found the second trip to the continent as distasteful as the first. The high points of the visit were a tour of the Arab stables and the trip to the emperor's stud farm. However, when Frederic and "Big" accidentally wandered into a female Turkish bath, and had to talk fast to keep themselves out of jail, Remington called it quits. He still felt bitter about things European some years later when he wrote a letter to Bigelow saying:

No, honey, I should not try Europe again. I am not built right--I hate parks--collars--cuffs--foreign languages--cut and dried stuff. Europe is all right for most everybody but me--I am going to do America--it's new, it's to my taste. . . .<sup>38</sup>

In summarizing some of their adventures together, Remington wrote of Bigelow in Harper's.

He has led me into some little evasions of the Russian police which made goose-flesh, and into a bath full of ladies of the Mohammedan faith, whose friends thought well of a proposition to kill us, and nearly got me into a court ball once, which could have been worse. . . .<sup>39</sup>

In January of 1895, Remington signed a contract with Harper's to publish a book made up of his past articles, under the title of Pony Tracks.<sup>40</sup> The next month, Remington's first

piece of fiction writing appeared in print. This article for the Weekly was entitled, "The Affair of the -th of July," and was a fictionalized version of the Pullman Strike which he covered the year before.<sup>41</sup> In a second fiction story, "The Colonel of the First Cycle Infantry," Frederic took advantage of the current bicycle craze in the United States to describe a fictitious army cycle troop.<sup>42</sup> In both stories Remington was concerned with the problems facing the military in putting down mob rule.

Remington went west again in 1895 in hopes of gathering material for pictures. However, since the Indian menace had been eradicated, and the West was fast becoming settled, his pictures were mostly fishing, hunting and human interest studies.<sup>43</sup>

Frederic's driving energy pushed him into still other forms of art so that in 1895 Remington tried sculpting for the first time.

In a vacant lot near his home, Frederic W. Ruckstuhl, a noted sculptor, was working on a statue of General Hartrampt. Frederic spent a great amount of time visiting with Ruckstuhl in his workshop tent, admiring the tools and the way the artist used them.<sup>44</sup>

One day while Remington was in his own studio working on a picture, his friend Augustus Thomas came in to chat. After watching Remington for awhile Thomas said, "Frederic, you're not an illustrator so much as you're a sculptor. You don't mentally see your figures on one side of them, your mind goes all around them."<sup>45</sup>

Thomas's words set Frederic to thinking. Why not try sculpting? Ruckstuhl tells the story:

One Sunday morning I was loafing with him Remington in his studio. "Ruck," he said suddenly, "do you think I could model? Thomas has suggested that I could." "Certainly you can." "What makes you say certainly?" he asked. "Because you see, in your mind, so very clearly, anything you want to draw. You will be able to draw just as clearly in wax as you do on paper." "But how about the technique of it" he queried, with a quizzical look. "Technique be hanged," I replied. "Forget it and it will take care of itself. Then you will have an individual technique, or surface modeling, personal and peculiar to you, and in this epoch of a craze for individuality that will be an added quality. All you need think of is a popular subject, a fine composition, correct movement and expressive form. Begin right away. You can do it. Take that drawing of yours of a Bronco Buster--you can start with that. I'll get a modeling stand, and tools and modeling wax for you and show you how to make a wire skeleton for supporting the wax, and all that." He jumped up eagerly. "By God!" he exclaimed boyishly, "I can try anyhow, can't I?" "And you can't fail!" I replied.<sup>46</sup>

Remington wrote confidently of his work to Owen Wister, the famous western novelist, whom he first met in Wyoming in 1893:

I have got a receipt [sic] for being great-- everyone might not be able to use this receipt but I can. . . . your Virginian will be eaten up by time--all paper is pulp now. My oils will all get old masterly--that is they will look like stale molasses in time--my water colors will fade--but I am to endure in bronze--even rust does not touch [it]--I am modeling. I find I do well--I am doing a cowboy on a bucking bronco and I am going to rattle down through all the ages, unless some antichrist invades the old mansion and knocks it off the shelf.<sup>47</sup>

Remington finished this first sculpting that same year. He later wrote of it:

I have always had a feeling for mud, and I did that [the Bucking Bronco]--a long work attended with great difficulty on my part. I wanted to do something which a burglar wouldn't have, moths eat, or time blacken. It [sculpture] is a great art and satisfying to me, for my whole feeling is for form.<sup>48</sup>

Arthur Hoeber in an article for Harper's Weekly lent encouragement to Remington's efforts:

While through his previous work a strong feeling for form and mass was perceptible, and the new departure [sculpture] is thoroughly logical, it is nevertheless quite astonishing that the difficulties of technique in the modeling in clay should have been overcome so readily and with such excellent results.<sup>49</sup>

Hoeber said of the Bronco Buster, "The action is stirring, though not forced and the sculptor has seized all the possibilities of the situation with rare judgement."<sup>50</sup>

Remington's first few bronzes were made in sand castings; however, he later changed to the "Cire Perdue" or lost-wax process. This was more flexible as a method of casting bronze

first used by the Greeks and later perfected by Cellini in the sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Frederic loved the wide latitude the wax method gave him in changing the models. Someone once commented about the position of a rattlesnake in one of Frederic's pieces. He decided to change it, saying:

Great fun, isn't it, eh? Just see what can be done with it--isn't it wonderful. You could work on this for days changing and rechanging as you like--the only limit is your time and patience. Great fun, eh?<sup>52</sup>

In 1895 Remington also secured a patent for a new and useful improvement in stretchers and ammunition carriers. The patent was applied for through his good friend Joel W. Burdick and the firm of Munn and Company.

Frederic took time off from his art work and writing to go out West on a hunting trip with General Miles in the autumn of 1895. Miles later wrote Remington about this hunt, taking the opportunity to remark about Frederic's new interest in writing:

I have read with much pleasure your articles in Harper's magazine concerning our hunt last autumn and your descriptive powers are certainly very good. I think you will in time develop as much skill with the pen as you have genius with the brush. . . .<sup>53</sup>

Miles went on to ask Remington to illustrate some forthcoming articles:

I wish you would come over some day; I want to read to you my article on the Indians. If this is not convenient for you I will go to your place some

day during the latter part of the week. I leave it to you to name the day and place as I want to talk to you about the possibility of you illustrating one or two old Indian scenes.<sup>54</sup>

In 1896, Miles published his Personal Recollections, containing sixteen pages of Remington illustrations along with those of numerous other artists. Some indication of Remington's popularity with Miles, and the public in general, can be noted in the inscription appearing on the title page of this work:

Copiously Illustrated With Graphic Pictures by

FREDERIC REMINGTON

and other eminent artists.<sup>55</sup>

Late in 1896, Frederic Remington along with war-correspondent Richard Harding Davis was contracted by editor William Randolph Hearst to cover the Cuban revolution for the New York Journal. Remington and Davis left for Cuba under the cover of darkness from a secret pier in the New York Harbor, lest they arouse the Spanish spies.<sup>56</sup>

While Remington and Davis were searching through Havana, Hearst continued his efforts to keep alive what he called "our pet war."<sup>57</sup> Remington grew disgusted with lounging in Havana and wired Hearst that there was no war down there. Hearst replied:

REMINGTON. HAVANA. PLEASE REMAIN.  
YOU FURNISH THE PICTURES AND I'LL FURNISH THE WAR.<sup>58</sup>



Then, in February, Hearst received a despatch from Davis, reporting that the American ship Olivette had been boarded by Spanish agents. In the course of the search, three Cuban women were forced to undergo a personal search in the nude.<sup>59</sup> The Journal headlined the story: "Does Our Flag Protect Women?" and splashed a half page drawing of the scene by Frederic Remington. Frederic drew the picture from Davis's description, but it was more than adequate. The public was shocked.<sup>60</sup>

Remington had not witnessed the event, for he had left Cuba before Davis. The mysterious despatch was in fact suspect from the beginning. A rival newspaper, the New York World investigated the Olivette incident. The World found one of the young women, who denied Hearst's news report, saying the search had been conducted by a police matron. The Journal was forced to retract its story.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless the war fever continued to spread. Remington himself caught the plague Hearst and others were generating from New York and elsewhere in the United States. Frederic, often prone to exaggeration, wrote Bigelow on February 6, 1897:

Just home from Cuba--saw more hell there than I ever read about. Went for the New York Journal--small pox--typhoid--yellow jacket--dishonesty--suffering beyond measure.<sup>62</sup>

Then early one morning in February of 1898, Frederic re-

ceived a telephone call from his friend Augustus Thomas. Thomas told him about the sinking of the United States battleship Maine in Havana harbor. When Remington heard the news he shouted back, "ring off," and proceeded to call New York City to get an assignment in Cuba.<sup>63</sup>

In May of 1898, Harper's Weekly announced it was turning its complete attention to the war in Cuba:

This Paper will be the best Pictorial History of the War with Spain, as it was of the War of 1861. Its Special Artists and Correspondents will follow the Army and Navy and notable Events in Washington and elsewhere will accurately be portrayed.<sup>64</sup>

Remington's name was included in the list of Harper's artists, and it was in this capacity that he returned to Cuba in 1898. It seems that Remington traveled first to Tampa, Florida, which was the training base for United States soldiers destined for Cuba. In the May seventh issue of the Weekly, Frederic wrote of the atmosphere in the camp:

At the place far from Washington where the gray, stripped war-ships swing on the tide, and toward which the troop trains hurry, there is no thought of peace. The shore is a dusty, smelly bit of sandy coral, and the houses in this town are built like snare drums; they are dismal thoroughly, and the sun makes men sweat, and wish to God they were somewhere else. . . .<sup>65</sup>

Remington soon soured of war and seems to have shared the wish of the soldiers in Tampa to be "somewhere else," prefer-

ably out West. After cruising before Havana Harbor for a week on the battleship Iowa, Remington wrote; "I want to get some dust in my throat; I want to kick the dewy grass, to see a sentry pace in the moonlight, and to talk the language of my tribe. . . ."66

The monotony was broken however, when Remington transferred to the ship New York. "On board," Remington wrote in Harper's,

I found that the flag-ship New York had had some sport the day previous shelling some working parties in Matanzas. Mr. Zogbaum and Richard Harding Davis had seen it all, notebook in hand. I was stiff with jealousy; but it takes more than one fight to make a war--so here is hoping!67

Rufus Zogbaum, a highly paid Harper's artist, had succeeded where Remington failed; he had sketched an engagement with the enemy. Unfortunately this was to be the story during the entire Cuban war; Remington repeatedly missed the major battles. While Zogbaum and others turned in pages of on-the-spot war sketches, Remington contributed pictures of troop training and sketches of important military men in Tampa. "With the Regulars at Port Tampa, Florida; 9th U.S.Cavalry Skirmishing through the Pines," appearing in the May 21, 1898, issue of the Weekly, and "Colored Troopers of 9th U.S.Cavalry Taking their Horses for a Dash into the Gulf," in the May 28th issue are typical drawings of training maneuvers. "Some Notable General Officers at

Tampa, Florida," in the June 4, 1898 issue of the Weekly depicted the military leaders in posed drawings. These pictures show Remington at his worst.

It is ironical, and yet perhaps a reflection of his genius, that Remington's work of the Spanish-American War period should be preserved by a single painting. When Roosevelt was running for the governorship of New York in 1899, Remington's picture "Charge of the Rough Riders at San Juan Hill," which had appeared in Scribner's in April of that year, was reproduced in campaign literature. The picture was instrumental in seeing Roosevelt in the Governor's chair in Albany after the election.<sup>68</sup>

Poultney Bigelow, who did not share Remington's veneration for Roosevelt, wrote some years later of the affair:

Roosevelt had his eye on the Governorship of New York: the elections were to be held in the autumn; the war was just the thing for him: he must come home as the conquering Hero, confound his enemies and sweep into office once more as the popular war idol.

And thus grew the myth of San Juan Hill, and the famous picture by Frederic Remington depicting our Cowboy Napoleon spurring a fiery steed towards the Spanish lines and swinging a sabre, and otherwise enacting the orthodox drama which in regimental mess-rooms is entitled "Up Guards and at 'em! ". . . Remington knew that Roosevelt was never on San Juan Hill--he told me so when I joked with him about his picture. . .<sup>69</sup>

The Spanish-American War was the low water-mark of Fred-eric Remington's art career. He put it best when he wrote,

" . . . this war seems to be the murder of time, the slow torture of opportunity."<sup>70</sup> In effect, Remington's adventure in Cuba marked the end of his career as a reporter and illustrator. The reason was two-fold: Cuba weaned a whole new flock of reporters, who soon proved too much competition for the old-school reporters like Remington.<sup>71</sup> And the old magazines like Atlantic, Harper's, Century, and Scribners were losing ground to new, cheap "muck-raking" periodicals like McClure's.<sup>72</sup>

Thus after nearly a decade of frustrating work as a foreign correspondent, Remington once again faced a career choice. This time, however, he chose to follow pure art.

## CHAPTER V

### REMINGTON'S LAST DAYS

The early part of the twentieth century saw fewer and fewer Remington drawings appearing in magazines. After 1900, Harper's Monthly carried only seventeen Remington sketches, while in the decade prior to this they had published well over four hundred. Harper's Weekly, once filled with drawings of military skirmishes with Apaches in the Southwest, printed only six illustrations after the turn of the century. Outing and Century magazines combined, only reproduced forty pictures by Remington during this time (see table I). The reason for this dearth of illustration was the fact that Remington had given himself over to the study of pure art.

There were several reasons for this change. Frederic summed them up in a letter to Owen Wister in 1901, after Wister had been dropped by Harper's because he asked for too much money for his stories:

. . . as to Harper's /Remington wrote/--they are hard up and employ cheap men. Also Harvey wants new men. New and cheap lets you out along with all the other old men. They dropped me out of the window over a year ago, but I find a way to get printed.<sup>1</sup>

Remington's "way" was Collier's magazine. During the Spanish-American War, when the magazine industry was undergoing

painful changes provoked by harsh competition, Frederic submitted some work to Collier's. Where Harper's was reluctant to pay, Collier's was eager. In a contract signed in 1903, Remington received six thousand dollars a year in return for a specified number of paintings. He could choose his own subjects, and in addition the original pictures would be returned to him for resale if he wished.<sup>2</sup> No other illustrator could boast of such an arrangement!

His association with Colliers's elevated Remington in the eyes of the art world. Occasionally, Collier's published special portfolios of his pictures. Later these and other paintings were auctioned off in New York galleries, so that by 1904 Remington was finally considered an artist in his own right.

When Remington was not trekking over the mountains or plains, he was relaxing at his summer home on the St. Lawrence River. "Ingleneuk," as Remington called his island retreat, was purchased in 1898 and promptly converted into a second workshop.<sup>3</sup> Up at six in the morning, Frederic would exercise for an hour or so, eat a large breakfast, and be hard at work in his studio by eight.<sup>4</sup>

Writer Edwin Wildman visited Remington at Ingleneuk one summer. "He works rapidly and permits nothing to interfere,"

Wildman observed "He must be doing things, and whatever occupies his attention absorbs him completely. . . . he is a bundle of nervous energy that gives him the liveliness of a boy of ten."<sup>5</sup>

For Remington the island was a perfect setting for pictures, a place to "get away from everything civilized. . . away from the house and people's gabble. . . ."<sup>6</sup> But although he loved to sketch scenes along the St. Lawrence, he believed, "people won't stand for my painting sunsets. . . Got me pigeon holed in their minds, you see; want horses, cowboys, out west things--won't believe me if I paint anything else."<sup>7</sup>

As the years passed, Frederic's income increased to the point that he and Eva were quite secure. "I shall never make big money," Frederic said, "I only hope to keep what I have going modestly. . . ."<sup>8</sup> This security resulting from his working for Collier's gave him more time to travel, and in 1905 he set out to sketch the "men of the Big West." He traveled to Fort Robinson and then on to the Badlands where he found "everything lovely."<sup>9</sup> The artistic fruits of this trip appeared afterward in the pages of Collier's.

That same year, Samuel Isham, artist and critic, allocated an entire section of his book, The History of American Painting,



to a critique of Frederic's art work, a portion of which said:

He Remington at least, cannot be said to have sacrificed truth to grace. The raw, crude light, the burning sand, the pitiless blue sky surround the lank, sunburned men who ride the rough horses and fight or drink or herd cattle as the case may be. The record is invaluable and the execution is direct and sure. Perhaps it would lose something of its force were it completer, but even in his work in oil Remington is an illustrator rather than a painter. The subject is more to him than purely artistic qualities displayed in its representation.<sup>10</sup>

In 1906, Remington was back in New Rochelle working on a statue for Fairmont Park, in Philadelphia. After years of seeing Frederic leave for far-off places, Eva turned the tables on him and left for Syracuse, New York. Frederic in turn, left for New York City on a business trip. After a short stay, he wrote his wife, "I don't like New York and I hope you will come home as soon as the law allows--cause naturally it's damn lonesome around here. . . ."<sup>11</sup> While in the city, Frederic had an opportunity to see one of George Bernard Shaw's plays, then on Broadway. He commented to Eva that: "Man and Superman is the greatest thing I ever saw on stage. It almost makes the stage possible for me."<sup>12</sup> Actually, Frederic's interest in the theater had taken on a serious tone in 1903 when one of his books, John Ermine of the Yellowstone, was adapted for the stage by Louis Evan Shipmen, a well-known playwright (see plate IX)

The first presentation was in Boston, and it moved on to New York City several months later. It was not a successful engagement, however, no doubt because of its sad ending.<sup>13</sup>

In 1907, Frederic wrote Eva from El Paso, Texas: ". . . I have never seen the West so green. The Country is setting up at an astonishing rate. . . ."<sup>14</sup> Each year it was more and more difficult for Remington to find areas out west that had not been touched by some finger of civilization. From El Paso Frederic wrote of a side trip to the Superstition Mountains with his servant, Smith: "I made 7 sketches at Cloudfcrowft & 2 sunsets at Alaugrds [sic] and we are to drive up the river here today to sketch the water. We are both feeling bully."<sup>15</sup>

Frederic moved on to the Grand Canyon and then home. What he put on canvas were his impressions of a fading West.

In the Spring of 1908, Frederic and Eva decided to sell their home in New Rochelle and move to Ridgefield, Connecticut.<sup>16</sup> Frederic had made special provisions in his new home for an art studio large enough to admit a horse and rider.<sup>17</sup> Before work was completed, however, the stock market crashed and Remington was forced to pay for his losses. Nevertheless, the new home was finished that same year.<sup>18</sup>

To find more material for his pictures, Frederic went west

again in the fall of 1908:

I never had such a grilting [sic] such as this trip, [Remington wrote from Sheridan, Wyoming]. It was the hot spell of 1908 and I got it all. . . .my baggage has gone on and I am back to the dirty clothes I took off at Chicago but I am going to laundry them to-night in the wash bowl. Such is the life of an artist in search of the beautiful.<sup>19</sup>

From Sheridan, Remington moved on to Buffalo Bill's hotel, the Irma, in Cody, Wyoming. While there he took part in a bear hunt and trek to a nearby lodge, painting his way "slowly up the valley."<sup>20</sup>

Following this outing, Remington returned home once again. Despite the fact that this had been a rather productive trip, with many good pictures, Frederic had only four of these pictures incorporated in the Collier's issues of 1908: "The Scouts" appeared in the May 2 issue; "Ceremony of the Scalps," on June 19; "The Warrior's Last Ride," on November 7, and "The Strangers," on December 18.

Frederic and Eva moved into their new home in Ridgefield, Connecticut, May 17, 1909. In the new studio Remington did some of his best painting; "The Outlier," "The Love Call," "Among the Led Horses," "The Buffalo Runners--Big Horn Basin," and many more. He also did one of his finest sculptures, "The Stampede."<sup>21</sup> Little more than six months of life remained for

Remington, but his plans were optimistic. He hoped to do a mural for the capitol building in Albany depicting the first assembly and the Seneca Indians who took part in it. Also, there was to be a statue for Staten Island, and several small sculptures. And, he wished to experiment with color and technique. For these things there would be no time.<sup>22</sup>

The end was swift, not out on the range or on a battlefield, but rather at home during the Christmas season. The events covered five days. On December 21, Eva's sister, Emma Caten arrived for the holidays. The next day, Remington took the 8:26 train for New York City, though he did not feel well after the wagon ride to the station. In the city, Remington picked up a painting at the Lincoln National Bank. He came home at 3:00 p.m. and went immediately to bed. Eva called for Dr. Lowe, and later that night a specialist was summoned from New York. <sup>23</sup>

On Thursday, December 23rd, Remington was told that his appendix must come out. "Cut her loose, Doc." he replied. Three doctors and two nurses were present for the operation, and it was a success. The next day, Remington was comfortable and cheerful.<sup>24</sup>

On Christmas Day, he changed for the worst. The next morn-

ing, at 9:30, December 26, 1909, Frederic Sackrider Remington died of shock brought on by the operation for appendicitis.<sup>25</sup>

The body was taken to Canton, where the funeral was held in the Universalist Church. He was buried beneath a plain stone with the single word, REMINGTON. His wish had been that his grave be marked with the phrase, "He knew the horse."

This was never done. But there is a marker that keeps the memory of Remington alive--the thousands of drawings, paintings, and words that he produced to tell the world of the West. He showed us the ending of the West when few others in the 1880's were aware that it was passing. Remington lives on in the hearts of all those who pause to marvel at the legacy of his art.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS

The object of this study has been to present a clearly delineated picture of Frederic Remington's West through an examination of his life and his art. The material assembled in this thesis leads the author to the following conclusions:

The first two decades of Remington's life helped form his interests and gave rise to certain characteristics that contributed in large part to his venturing west in 1881, and later, colored his unique illustrations of the frontier. Remington sustained from childhood into his adult years an intense pre-occupation with things military. This interest had its origins in two facets of Frederic's boyhood. As we discovered earlier in this essay, his father, "Pierre" Remington, served gallantly in the Union Army during the Civil War. This fact, coupled with a family heritage that had seen a Remington take part in every major American war since the Revolution, could not fail to impress the young boy.

In addition, the two years Frederic spent at Highland Military Academy fostered a definite military orientation toward life. His boast to Scott Turner of his knowledge of "Upton's 'Infantry Tactics'" indicates that Remington did not dislike

the prep school's military atmosphere. In fact, he even volunteered "to draw a little cadet life," there for Turner.<sup>1</sup>

The Academy was responsible, too, for crystallizing some of Frederic's goals and aspirations. Turner and Frederic's school-mate Wilder stimulated Remington's interest in art. There is no doubt that he had a facility for sketching before he began decorating his correspondence to Turner with soldier scribbles. However, the friendly competition among Remington and his friends offered an incentive for Remington to improve his drawings and make them more authentic.

That Remington should choose journalism as a career when his skills lay so decidedly in the field of illustration, seems to belie his obvious artistic talents. However, from a practical standpoint, journalism was by far the more secure future with better money-making possibilities. Also, Frederic was probably influenced by the fact that his father had edited and owned the town newspaper.

A year and a half at Yale seems to have done little to help Remington realize his ambitions. In fact, the University appears to have hindered him considerably. He never became a journalist; and the "dingy cellar" that was the Yale Art School,<sup>2</sup> dampened his aspirations to "study for an artist anyhow."<sup>3</sup> Remington's decision not to return to the university after the Christmas holidays of 1880, was in large part the result of his dissatisfaction with the instructors and facilities at

Yale. And, too, his father's illness no doubt played a part in his decision.

An examination of Remington's letters during his adolescence indicates that he had already adopted the cow-boy jargon so peculiar to the West. His remarks to Turner that he had to look his letters over carefully "to see if there is any cussing in them"; and his never condescending to the offer of "Take something, old hoss?" illustrates this west country influence.<sup>4</sup>

Frederic Remington's first trip west was greatly facilitated by these personality characteristics, but was directly precipitated by two tragedies: his father's death in 1880, and a refusal of marriage. The exact reaction of Frederic to his father's passing is not known for certain, however, judging from their close relationship during Remington's boyhood, he must have been deeply grieved. It is known that the inheritance made possible his ventures out west. Frederic's unfortunate love affair with Eva Caten seems to have been the immediate cause for his journey west, however.

In light of these happenings, it is not surprising that Remington struck out for the plains in August, 1881. He had failed to win Eva because he was not wealthy and so he resolved to try to "become a millionaire."<sup>5</sup> The West, as Frederic Jack-



son Turner has pointed out in his thesis concerning the influence of the frontier on America, long served as a "safety valve of discontent," and a haven for disgruntled Easterners. Appetites of the adventuresome were whetted by books, songs, and tales of "Our Western Empire." One such book, Croft's New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide. . . , beckoned the Easterner with its lucid description of the West as:

. . . the land of the "Golden Fleece," . . . /with/ broad plains and lofty mountains, . . . free pure air, healthful climate, magnificent scenery, unrivalled resources, and its unaffected, wholesouled people.<sup>6</sup>

But life on the frontier proved to be filled with hardship rather than happiness. Nevertheless, the trip was a milestone in Remington's life. For, after a talk with an old wagon man along the Yellowstone River Trail, Frederic decided to make art his career. With a youthful determination, he proposed to save the image of the dying West.

"Without knowing exactly how to do it," /Remington wrote/ "I began to try to record some facts around me . . . ."<sup>7</sup>

From Wyoming, Remington sent a sketch of a cowboy camp to Harper's Weekly. To his amazement it was accepted and published in the February 25, 1882 issue of the magazine. Remington had made his debut as a Western illustrator, but his success

was premature.

Four long difficult years remained before Remington was published again. In the meantime, he engaged in a variety of other enterprises while working incessantly on his art. In 1882, he held a series of clerical jobs in Albany, New York, but the sedentary nature of office work was too restrictive for Remington's expansive and energetic personality. 1883 saw Frederic in Kansas, working as a sheep rancher. But this work proved too routine. A year later he bought into a saloon in Kansas City, only to be cheated out of his share by his two partners.

Remington's friendship with the Emerson Houghs at this time appears to have calmed Frederic's excitable nature. However, Remington's marriage to Eva Caten in 1884 seems to have done little to settle him. Their subsequent move to Kansas City was unfortunate, for Remington was still unknown as an artist and his meager earnings could not support a wife. Eva was forced to return home.

Shortly thereafter, Remington set out for the Southwest to sketch Indians. Perhaps he sensed that the fighting there would be of interest to the Eastern magazines. He happened on to the outbreak of one of the most significant and widely pub-

licized news events of the 1880's: The Apache Indian War.

"The Apache War--Indian Scouts on Geronimo's Trail." appearing on the front cover of Harper's Weekly on January 9, 1886, marked the real establishment of Frederic Remington as a Western illustrator. From 1886 until the last Indian resistance in South Dakota in 1891, Remington sketched and painted the troopers and Indians, and the part they played in the close of the Frontier. His popularity increased steadily through the years, until by 1900 his work was appearing in the major periodicals of the day.

Frederic's success was the result of many factors. His sketches were interesting and authentic; for the concerned Easterner, Remington's sketches had the ring of the "real thing." His work was also good illustration, for he captured the high point of the action, which was the mark of the veteran illustrator. And, too, Remington's horses were excellent, while his slim troopers were in keeping with the ideal the Eastern readers had of the fighting men on the frontier.

For the most part the 1880's were filled with talk of the "Indian Problem." As we have seen, friction arose when Indian Bureau policies ran counter to those of the War Department. Remington traveled throughout the Indian country during this

time, sketching life on reservations and army posts. He came to see the Indian problem from the military point of view; a view "current among Army officers who . . . spent their whole lives on the Indian frontier. . ."<sup>8</sup> Frederic believed that tribal ties could not be disrupted, and that the only method of treating the Indian was to deal with "the whole outfit."<sup>9</sup>

The Sioux Uprising in South Dakota in 1891 was the last major resistance of the American Indian to white encroachment. After this suppression, the Indian threat no longer proved an obstacle to settlement and the whole country, Remington observed, began "setting up."<sup>10</sup>

This rapid settlement of the West and the resultant disappearance of the frontier, turned America's interests outward. As Richard Hofstadter points out in his Age of Reform, the cessation of an area of free land and the close of the frontier was credited with precipitating, among other things, strong imperialist thinking.<sup>11</sup> Remington was caught up in this trend.

As we have seen, the settlement of the West proved a major crisis in Remington's art career. He was an illustrator of the Old West and now there was no West. Nonetheless Frederic was still an expert on the military, and it was in this capacity that he traveled to Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin-America dur-

ing the 1890's.

A trip to Russia in 1892 with Poulthney Bigelow, and a second journey to Africa and Germany in 1894 soured Remington on things European. He never returned to Europe after this.

The Pullman strike in Chicago in 1894 proved an interesting departure from this decade of foreign travel. Remington was at home with the men of the Seventh Cavalry, although the streets of Chicago were not as romantic as the plains and hills of South Dakota. In several articles on the strike, which Remington did for Harper's at this time, Frederic condemned in like manner, the unions, strikers, and Governor Altgeld. Here was Remington, the patriot, at his best. He could not condone the mob rule nor labor's cause when it threatened the security of the United States.

Remington's decision to turn to prose writing in 1895 and to take up sculpting the same year can be attributed to the fact that, to Frederic they were a means to tell of the end of the West. In a letter requesting Owen Wister to write a preface for one of his books, Remington wrote: "I want a lulu too no d\_\_\_ newspaper stuff saying how much I weigh etc. etc. but telling the d\_\_\_ public that this is the real old thing. . . last chance--ain't going to be any more West. . ."12

The Spanish-American War period was the worst stage in Remington's artistic career. Pictures done during this time were poorly drawn and the subjects were, for the most part, training maneuvers and posed pictures of important military leaders. The exception to this rule was the "Charge of the Rough Riders at San Juan Hill," which depicted Theodore Roosevelt and his men attacking a Spanish-held position in Cuba. The action was stirring; the scene left nothing to be desired, except authenticity. For Remington never witnessed the charge, and it seems to have been drawn to help Theodore Roosevelt's political campaign for the governorship of New York.

The Spanish-American War more than any other factor was responsible for ending Remington's work as an illustrator. As we have seen, the Eastern magazines took to hiring new and younger men for less money. Thus, at the turn of the century Remington faced a second crisis in his career. But this time he chose to become an artist.

By 1904 Remington was recognized as the most popular artist of the Old West. He had overcome his difficulty with color and his paintings were bringing excellent prices. Frederic continued his trips west but each year it became increasingly harder to locate areas untouched by civilization. He felt that,

"White man spoils nature by trying to improve on it. The march of the derby hat round the world is answerable for more crimes against art than a hundred wars."<sup>13</sup>

"Remington is an excellent American," Owen Wister wrote, for Frederic believed "this continent does not hold a nation any longer, but is merely a strip of land on which a crowd is struggling for riches. . . ."<sup>14</sup> Collier's, in 1905, paid tribute to Remington by declaring their October, 1905 issue, the "Remington Number." In it, Remington reminisced about his first trip west in 1881 and his decision to become an artist:

I knew the railroad was coming--I saw men already swarming into the land I knew the derby hat, the smoking chimneys, the cord-binder, and the thirty-day note were upon us in a resistless surge. I knew the wild riders and the vacant land were about to vanish forever, and the more I considered the subject the bigger the Forever loomed. . . .<sup>15</sup>

He went on to predict that: ". . . if the recording of a day which is past infringes on the increasing interest of the present, be assured there are those who will set this down in turn and everything will be right in the end. . . ."<sup>16</sup>

No more fitting epitaph to Remington exists than these words of Owen Wister:

Is it necessary to mention the things that Remington stands for? No artist until Remington has undertaken to draw so cleverly the history of the people.

This is surely enough; but he stands for certain other things, both great and definite. He has pictured the red man as no one else, to my thinking, certainly has pictured him. He has told his tragedy completely. He has made us see at every stage this inferior race which our conquering race has dispossessed, beginning with its primeval grandeur, and ending with its squalid degeneration under the influence of our civilized manners.

Next, while recording the red man in this way, Remington has recorded the white man who encountered him--recorded this man also in every stage from dignity to sordid squalor. Pioneers, trappers, cowboys, miners, prospectors, gamblers, bandits--the whole motley rout goes ineffaceably into Remington's pages.

And finally he had not forgotten Nature herself. The mystery of the untouched plains and the awe of the unscaled mountain heights have been set down by him not only too truthfully, but with potent feeling and imagination.

Remington is not merely an artist; he is a national treasure. And if ever it should occur to the not always discerning minds of academic institutions that Remington should be crowned at their hands, I should like to hear him receive his degree in these words: "Frederic Remington, Draughtsman, Historian, Poet."<sup>17</sup>

Frederic Remington, artist, author, and adventurer, traveled through the Old West on foot, on horseback, in coaches, and in trains, over old trails, and where there were no trails, across the mountains and the prairies, between the years 1881 and 1909, to record the story of the fading West in oil paint, bronze and the printed word for generations to come.

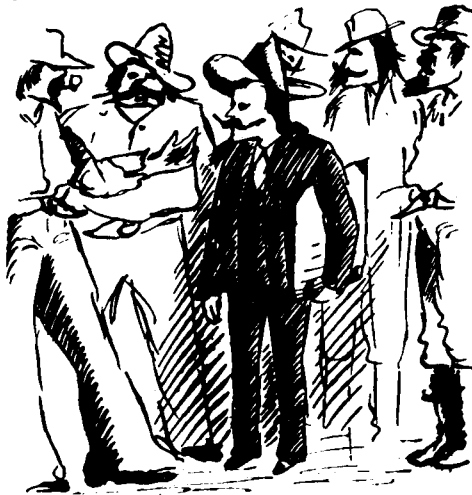




English intervention in the Russo-Turkish War



The Scout



Signor Barandani in California



Col. F. c Remington & Duke of Cambridge

## II. BOYHOOD SKETCHES.

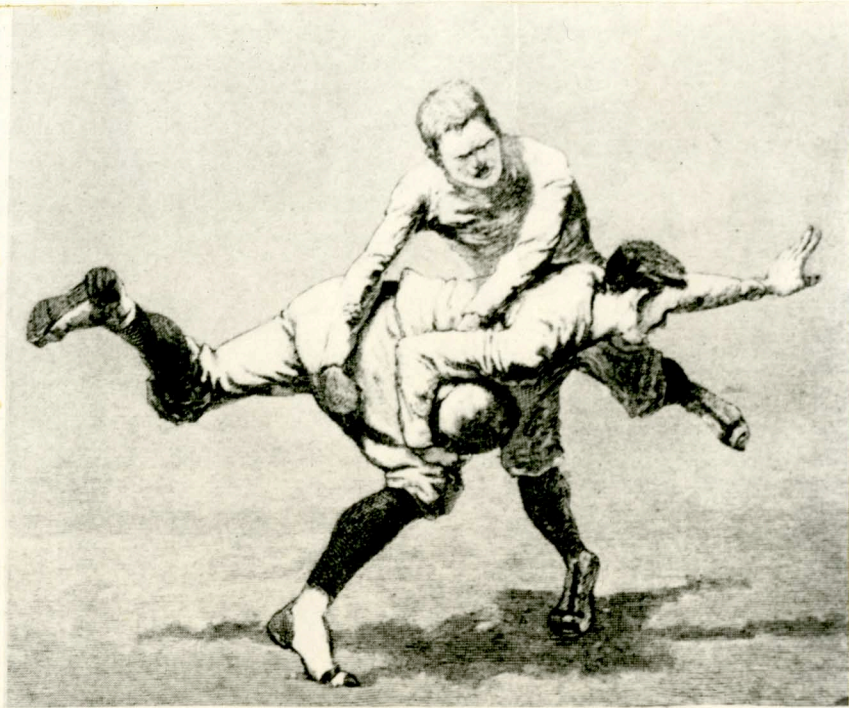
FROM COLLIER'S, XLV (September 17, 1910), 28.



III. REMINGTON AT YALE: THE FOOTBALL TEAM

REMINGTON (FIRST ROW, RIGHT) WITH YALE TEAM LED BY WALTER CAMP  
(WITH BALL)





#### IV. FOOTBALL SKETCHES.

(TOP) A LOW RUNNER. (BOTTOM) A LOW TACKLE, AND THE DROP KICK.

SKETCHES MADE BY REMINGTON FOR HARPER'S WEEKLY, XXXII (November 24, 1888), 892-893



V. REMINGTON IN KANSAS.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH MADE IN 1883. TAFT, KHQ.





"Boss of the Badger State" in Spring Lambs.

VI. ROBERT CAMP.

FROM A SKETCH BY FREDERIC REMINGTON DONE IN 1883. TAFT, KHQ.



VII. SKETCHES OF RANCH LIFE IN KANSAS.

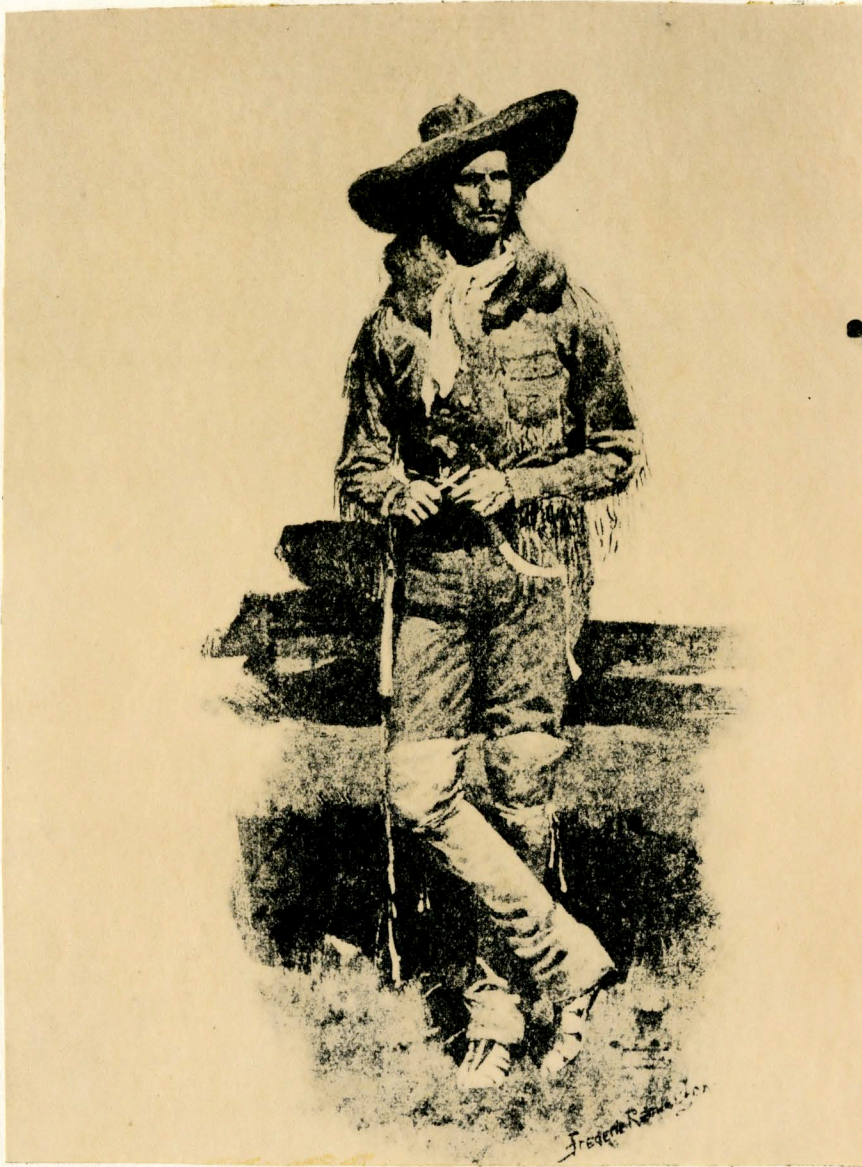
HARPER'S WEEKLY, XXXIII (April 28, 1888), 300





VIII. "COWBOYS OF ARIZONA--ROUSED BY A SCOUT."





IX. JOHN ERMINE.

PICTURE BY REMINGTON FROM HIS NOVEL JOHN ERMINE OF THE YELLOWSTONE.





X. TROOPER ON THE PLAINS.

PICTURE BY REMINGTON FROM McCracken's

FREDERIC REMINGTON'S OWN WEST.



XI. THE OPENER OF THE TRAIL.

PICTURE BY REMINGTON FROM McCracken's

FREDERIC REMINGTON'S OWN WEST

TABLE I

NUMBER OF REMINGTON SKETCHES PUBLISHED IN  
PERIODICALS DURING HIS THREE MOST PRODUCTIVE DECADES

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Periodicals	<u>Decades</u>		
	<u>1880's</u> Number of Sketches	<u>1890's</u> Number of Sketches	<u>1900's</u> <sup>a</sup> Number of Sketches
<hr/>			
<u>Century</u>	109	75	34
<u>Collier's</u>	None	20	103
<u>Cosmopolitan</u>	None	73	34
<u>Harper's Monthly</u>	14	407	16
<u>Harper's Weekly</u>	210	531	6

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<sup>a</sup>Note the decrease in the number of sketches reproduced in the Harper publications and the increase in the number of pictures done for Collier's after the turn of the century.

## FOOTNOTES

### CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>Frederic Remington, "A Few Words from Mr. Remington," Collier's, XL (March 18, 1905), 16.

<sup>2</sup>Atwood Manley, "Frederic Remington Born Oct. 4, 1861, Writer Claims, "Watertown Daily Times (New York), May 12, 1961. Manley supports his assertion by citing Seth Remington's will and Who's Who for the years 1907 and 1908. Biographer Harold McCracken in Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1947), 24, gives Remington's birth date as October 1, 1861. Robin McKown in her book Painter of the Wild West (New York: Messner Inc., 1959), 122-124, chose October 10, 1861 as the date of Remington's birth. Manley has shown both these dates to be incorrect.

<sup>3</sup>"Frederic Remington," The National Cyclopedia of American Biography (New York, 1897), VIII, 467.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas West Smith, The Story of a Cavalry Regiment (Chicago: n.p., 1897), 172.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 167.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 161-162.

<sup>7</sup>The letter from Colonel Scott read as follows:

"To avoid a useless effusion of blood I hereby demand an unconditional surrender of the stockade and the forces under your command.

I have a Brigade of Cavalry and a Battery of Artillery /sic/ at my immediate disposal.

Your refusal or compliance with this demand must be made within five (5) minutes after its reception."

The original Remington papers, from which this quote is taken, are housed in the Remington Art Memorial in Ogdensburg, New York. A microfilm print can be secured from the New York Public Library. This reel of film covers twenty-four letters and three cards from Frederic Remington,



fifty letters to Remington, two scrap books, legal papers and manuscripts. The collection will be cited hereafter as Remington Papers.

<sup>8</sup>Smith, 161-162.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 157-158

<sup>11</sup>R. W. Vail, "The Frederic Remington Collection," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, (February, 1929), 72.

<sup>12</sup>Harold Foote Gosnell, Boss Platt and His New York Machine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [c.1924], 17-18.

<sup>13</sup>Remington Papers. Pierre Remington's appointment is dated December 24, 1873 and is signed by President Grant.

<sup>14</sup>Atwood Manley, "Canton Writer Claims Error in Birth Date of Frederic Remington," Ogdensburg Journal (New York), May 15, 1961, 5.

<sup>15</sup>Harold McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1947), 27.

<sup>16</sup>Orin Edson Crooker, "A Page from the Boyhood of Frederic Remington," Collier's, XLV (September 17, 1910), 28.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Conversation with Mr. Frank Gross, Art Department at Blackburn College, Carlinville, Illinois, December 1, 1960 concerning Remington's sketches done at the age of fifteen and found accompanying the article, "A Page from the Boyhood of Frederic Remington," by Orin Edson Crooker, in Collier's, September 17, 1910, 28.

<sup>24</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 28.

<sup>25</sup>Crooker, 28.

<sup>26</sup>Harold McCracken (ed.), Frederic Remington's Own West (New York: Dial Press, 1960), 9.

<sup>27</sup>Poultney Bigelow, Seventy Summers (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), I, 301.

<sup>28</sup>Harold McCracken, Portrait of the Old West (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952), 210.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ogdensburg Journal (New York), February 19, 1880, as quoted in Robert Taft, "The Pictorial Record of the Old West; V. Remington in Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XVI (May, 1948), 121. Taft's article will be cited hereafter as Taft, KHQ.

<sup>31</sup>Bigelow, I, 302.

<sup>32</sup>Vail, 72.

<sup>33</sup>Taft, KHQ, 121.

<sup>34</sup>Remington Papers; McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 30.

<sup>35</sup>Belle Hoyt Leighton, Ancestors and Decendants of John, Seba, and David Bonta and Sister Margaret Van Vracken (1939), n.p.

This is the most trustworthy and consistent source on Eva Caten's dates. According to the author, Eva was

born December 30, 1859 and died November 3, 1918.

<sup>36</sup>Remington Papers.

<sup>37</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 30-31.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>See p. 42 of thesis.

## CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup>Atwood Manley, Some of Frederic Remington's North Country Associations (New York: n.p., 1961), 22, citing Canton Plaindealer (New York), August 10, 1881:

"Fred Remington, son of the late Col. S.P. Remington, expects to start Wednesday of this week for Montana. We understand he intends to make a trial of life on a ranch."

<sup>2</sup>Nellie Hough, "Remington at Twenty-three," International Studio, LXXVI (February, 1923), 415.

<sup>3</sup>Frederic Remington, "A Few Words from Mr. Remington," Collier's XL (March 18, 1905), 16.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>William A. Rogers, A World Worth While (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922), 290.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 245.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 13-14. In the 1880's a magazine illustration was reproduced by means of an inked engraved wooden block. A single page picture was usually made up of about eighteen pieces of boxwood, one inch thick. The sections were held together by steel bolts to form a composite block. A Harper's artist, like Rogers, would apply a thin film of white paint to the surface. Then a tracing,

made from the original sketch was reversed and rubbed on-to the block. The boxwood block was then sent to the engraver for completion, and finally to the printer.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Conversation with Mr. Frank Gross, Art Department at Blackburn College, Carlinville, Illinois, December 1, 1960 concerning Remington. Mr. Gross pointed out that the mark of a good illustrator was his ability to capture the climactic moment; the scene just before something happened. Also, the good illustrator was a master draftsman, capable of using line and contour to suggest the effects of color and value.

<sup>10</sup>"The 'Cowboys' of Arizona," Harper's Weekly, XXVI (February 25, 1882), 118.

<sup>11</sup>Robert Taft, "The Pictorial Record of the Old West; V. Remington in Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XVI (May, 1948), 120-121. Taft will be cited hereafter as, Taft, KHQ.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>St. Lawrence Plaindealer (Canton, New York), February 28, 1883, as quoted in Ibid,

<sup>15</sup>Taft, KHQ, 125.

<sup>16</sup>Examination made by Mrs. Corah Mooney Bullock of El Dorado, Kansas, as quoted in Ibid, 121-122.

<sup>17</sup>Taft, KHQ, 122.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 123-124. "Charles B--," is not identified by Remington or Taft.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 126.

<sup>20</sup>Examination by Mrs. Myra L. Brown of Rosalia, Kansas, as quoted in Ibid, 127.



<sup>21</sup>Taft, KHQ, 128.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 128-129. Taft feels that Remington was interested in the New Mexico territory at this time.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 129.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 133.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 133-134.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 134

<sup>27</sup>Harold McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1947), 37.

<sup>28</sup>Interview made with Robert Camp, by W. I. Barth, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1943, as quoted in Taft, KHQ, 135.

<sup>29</sup>Taft, KHQ, 135.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Harold McCracken, Portrait of the Old West (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952), 212.

<sup>32</sup>Nellie Hough, "Remington at Twenty-three," International Studio, LXXVI (February, 1923), 413-414.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 413.

<sup>35</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 40.

<sup>36</sup>Henry J. Harper, The House of Harper (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1912), 603-605.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Transcript of "Certificate of Marriage Registration," City Clerk's Office, Gloversville, New York.

<sup>39</sup>Harper, 603-606.

<sup>40</sup>"Oklahoma," Harper's Weekly, XXIX (March 28, 1885), 199; John A. Kouwenhoven, Adventures of America, 1857-1900 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), n.p.

<sup>41</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 40.

<sup>42</sup>Nellie Hough, 414.

<sup>43</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 39.

<sup>44</sup>Nellie Hough, 414-415.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 415.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 414-415.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 415.

<sup>49</sup>Nelson A. Miles, Serving the Republic; Memoirs of the Civil and Military Life of Nelson A. Miles Lieutenant-General, United States Army (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911), 219-221.

<sup>50</sup>Nellie Hough, 415.

<sup>51</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 49.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 52.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 50.

<sup>54</sup>McCracken, Portrait of the Old West, 213.

<sup>55</sup>Harper's Weekly, XXX (January 30, 1886).

<sup>56</sup>"The Apache Trail," Harper's Weekly, XXX (January 9, 1886), 23.

## CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>See issues of Harper's Weekly for 1886, and the December, 1886 issue of Outing.

<sup>2</sup>The exact date of Remington's departure for the Arizona Territory is not known, however, an examination of Harper's Weekly illustrations shows that Remington was producing pictures from Arizona in 1886.

<sup>3</sup>Nelson A. Miles, Personal Recollections (Chicago: Werner Co., 1896), 475.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 481.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 483.

<sup>6</sup>G. W. Baird, "General Miles's Indian Campaigns," Century, XLII (July, 1891), 367-368.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 368.

<sup>8</sup>Miles, Personal Recollections, 478.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 486.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 488.

<sup>11</sup>Harper's Weekly, XXX (April 24, 1886), 268.

<sup>12</sup>"Our Cavalry," Harper's Weekly, XXX (April 24, 1886), 269.

<sup>13</sup>Miles, Personal Recollections, 491.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>"Mexican Troopers in Sonora," Harper's Weekly, XXX (August 7, 1886), 509.

<sup>16</sup>Baird, 396.

<sup>17</sup>Harper's Weekly, XXX (August 21, 1886), 529.

18"Captain Hatfield's Fight," Harper's Weekly, XXX (September 25, 1886), 619.

19Poultney Bigelow, Seventy Summers (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), I, 304.

20Harper's Weekly, XXXI (February 19, 1887), 137.

21Harper's Weekly, (June 18, 1887), 436.

22Scientific American, XXIX (October 19, 1878), 241.

23Harper's Weekly, XXXI (May 7, 1887), 332.

24Harper's Weekly, XXXI (July 23, 1887), 521.

25"The Turbulent Crows," Harper's Weekly, XXXI (November 5, 1887), 803.

26Harper's Weekly, XXXI (November 26, 1887), 849.

27Atwood Manley, Some of Frederic Remington's North Country Associations (New York: n.p., 1961), 24.

28Remington Papers.

29Frederic Remington, "A Scout with the Buffalo Soldiers," Century, XXXVI (April, 1889), 899-900.

30Remington Papers.

31Frederic Remington, "A Scout with the Buffalo Soldiers." 908.

32Remington Papers.

33Theodore Roosevelt, "Ranch Life in the Far West," Century, XXXV (February, 1888), 495-510; Theodore Roosevelt, "The Home Ranch," Century, XXXV (March, 1888), 655-669; Theodore Roosevelt, "The Round-up," Century, XXXV (April, 1888), 849-869; Theodore Roosevelt, "Sheriff's Work on a Ranch," Century, XXXVI (May, 1888), 39-51; Theodore Roosevelt, "The Ranchman's Rifle on Crag and Prairie," Century, XXXVI (June, 1888), 200-212; Theodore

Roosevelt, "Frontier Types," Century, XXXVI (October, 1888), 832-843.

<sup>34</sup>"The American Water-Color Society," Harper's Weekly, XXXII (February 4, 1888), 79.

<sup>35</sup>Frederic Remington, "Artist Wanderings Among the Cheyennes," Century, XXXVIII (August, 1889), 537-538.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 540.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Frederic Remington, "Artist Wanderings Among the Cheyennes," 541.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid. 545.

<sup>44</sup>Frederic Remington, Pony Tracks (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895), 1.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 21.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 6.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 15.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 19.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 21.

<sup>52</sup>"Ghost shirts" were leather garments that had

supposed mystic qualities enabling the Indians who wore them to be shielded from the white man's bullets.

<sup>53</sup>Frederic Remington, Pony Tracks, 42.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 44.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 47.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 48.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 53.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 48.

<sup>62</sup>Remington Papers.

#### CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup>Richard Hofstadter in The Age of Reform (New York: Vintage, 1960), 48-49, contends that the cessation of an area of free land and the subsequent close of the frontier has been credited with precipitating two movements; the Populist Revolt, and Imperialism. This statement is supported with a citation from Frederick Jackson Turner's The Frontier in American History (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920), 219-221:

"The Frontier opportunities are gone. . . A people composed of heterogeneous materials, having passed from the task of filling up the vacant spaces of the continent is now thrown upon itself and is seeking equilibrium."

The shift of American interest from western expansion, therefore was a logical consequence of the end of the Frontier. The Imperialists, a small group of elite Easterners such as Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, wielded enough influence to focus public attention on foreign affairs, and Remington along with countless

other Americans fell beneath the sway of Imperialist thinking in the 1890's.

<sup>2</sup>Poultney Bigelow, "Why We Left Russia," Harper's Monthly, LXXXVI (January, 1893), 299-300.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 305.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 294.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 295.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 299.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 300.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 302.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 304.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 305

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 306.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Poultney Bigelow, "In the Barracks of the Czar," Harper's Monthly, LXXXVI (April, 1893), 771-785.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 778.

<sup>19</sup>Atwood Manley, Some of Frederic Remington's North Country Associations (New York: n.p., 1961), 27.

<sup>20</sup>Frederic Remington, Pony Tracks (New York: Harper

and Brothers, 1895), 60.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 60-62.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 78.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Frederic Remington, "An Outpost of Civilization," Harper's Monthly, XXVII (December, 1893), 71-80.

<sup>25</sup>Almont Lindsey, The Pullman Strike (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 205.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 171.

<sup>27</sup>Frederic Remington, "Chicago Under the Mob," Harper's Weekly, XXXVIII (July 21, 1894), 680.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Frederic Remington, "Chicago Under the Law," Harper's Weekly, XXXVIII (July 28, 1894), 703.

<sup>31</sup>Remington, "Chicago Under the Mob," 681.

<sup>32</sup>Remington, "Chicago Under the Law," 703.

<sup>33</sup>Remington, "Chicago Under the Mob," 681.

<sup>34</sup>Remington, "Chicago Under the Law," 703.

<sup>35</sup>Remington, "Chicago Under the Mob," 681.

<sup>36</sup>Frederic Remington, "The Withdrawal of the U. S. Troops," Harper's Weekly, XXXVIII (August 11, 1894), 748.

<sup>37</sup>Harper's Monthly, LXXXVIII (April, 1894), 742.

<sup>38</sup>Harold McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1947), 76.



<sup>39</sup>Frederic Remington, "A Cosmopolitan--Mr. Poultney Bigelow," Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (July 20, 1895), 688.

<sup>40</sup>Information in a letter to the author from Eugene Exman, Harper and Row Publishers, April 26, 1963.

Remington had published nine important books in his lifetime, while many hundreds of works by other authors included his illustrations. In addition to two books of pictures, Drawings, 1897; and Done in the Open, 1902; Remington's noteworthy works were: Crooked Trails, 1898; Sundown Laflare, 1899; Stories of Peace and War, 1899; Men with the Bark On, 1900; John Ermine of the Yellowstone, 1902; and, The Way of an Indian, 1906.

<sup>41</sup>Frederic Remington, "The Affair of the -th of July," Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (February 2, 1895), 105.

<sup>42</sup>Frederic Remington, "The Colonel of the First Cycle Infantry," Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (May 18, 1895), 455-469.

<sup>43</sup>Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (January 12, 1895); Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (April 13, 1895); Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (May 11, 1895).

<sup>44</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 92.

<sup>45</sup>Augustus Thomas, "Recollections of Frederic Remington," Century, XLI (July, 1893), 361.

<sup>46</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 92.

<sup>47</sup>Nixon Orwin Rush, Frederic Remington and Owen Wister; The Story of a Friendship 1893-1909 (Tallahassee, Florida: n.p., 1961), 19.

<sup>48</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 92.

<sup>49</sup>Arthur Hoeber, "From Ink to Clay," Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (October 19, 1895), 993.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>James Barnes, "Frederic Remington--Sculptor," Collier's, XL (March 18, 1905), 21.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

In all, Remington did twenty-three bronzes with numerous copies: The Bronco Buster, 1895; The Wounded Bunkie, 1896; The Wicked Pony, 1898; The Scalp, 1898; The Norther, 1900; The Cheyenne, 1901; The Buffalo Signal, 1901; Coming Through the Rye, 1902; The Mountain Man, 1903; Sargeant, 1904; Polo, 1904; The Rattlesnake, 1905; Bronco Buster (similar to 1898 version, but larger), 1905; Dragoons-1850, 1905; Paleolithic Man, 1906; The Outlaw, 1906; The Horse Thief, 1907; The Buffalo Horse, 1907; The Fairmont Park Cowboy, 1908; The Savage, 1908; Trooper of the Plains-1868, 1909; The Stampede, 1910; Indian Dancer, (no date).

<sup>53</sup>Remington Papers.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Nelson A. Miles, Personal Recollections (Chicago: Werner Co., 1896), n.p.

<sup>56</sup>John Tebbel, The Life and Good Times of William Randolph Hearst (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1952), 181.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>Robin McKown, Painter of the Wild West (New York: Messner Inc., 1959), 160.

<sup>59</sup>Joseph Wisan. The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press (1895-1898) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), 137.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Manley, Some of Frederic Remington's North Country Associations, 29.

<sup>63</sup>Thomas, "Recollections of Frederic Remington," 356.

<sup>64</sup>Harper's Weekly, XLII (May 7, 1898), 452.

<sup>65</sup>Frederic Remington, "War Dreams," Harper's Weekly, XLII (May 7, 1898), 454.

<sup>66</sup>Frederic Remington, "Wigwags from the Blockade," Harper's Weekly, XLII (May 14, 1898), 462.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>Letter to the author from Miss Catherine W. Taggart, Curator of the Remington Art Memorial, Ogdensburg, New York. November 21, 1960.

<sup>69</sup>Poultney Bigelow, Seventy Summers (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), I, 283.

<sup>70</sup>Remington, "Wigwags from the Blockade," 462.

<sup>71</sup>Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, 191.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 192.

## CHAPTER V

<sup>1</sup>Nixon Orwin Rush, Frederic Remington and Owen Wister; The Story of a Friendship 1893-1909 (Tallahassee, Florida: n.p., 1961), 32-33.

<sup>2</sup>Remington Papers.

<sup>3</sup>Harold McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1947), 106.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 108.

<sup>5</sup>Edwin Wildman, "Frederic Remington, the Man," Outing, XLI (March, 1903), 712.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 716.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Remington Papers.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Samuel Isham, The History of American Painting (New York: MacMillan Co., 1905).

<sup>11</sup>Remington Papers.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 111.

<sup>14</sup>Remington Papers.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Atwood Manley, Some of Frederic Remington's North Country Associations (New York: n.p., 1961), 31.

<sup>17</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 119.

<sup>18</sup>Manley, Some of Frederic Remington's North Country Associations, 32.

<sup>19</sup>Remington Papers.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 120.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 121.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 122.

## CHAPTER VI

<sup>1</sup>Orin Edson Crooker, "A Page from the Boyhood of Frederic Remington," Collier's, XLV (September 17, 1910), 28.

<sup>2</sup>Poultney Bigelow, Seventy Summers (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), I, 301.

<sup>3</sup>Harold McCracken (ed.), Frederic Remington's Own West (New York: Dial Press, 1960), 9.

<sup>4</sup>Crooker, 28.

<sup>5</sup>McCracken, Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West, 30-31.

<sup>6</sup>George A. Crofutt, Crofutt's New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide. . . (Omaha, Nebraska: Overland Publishing Co., 1880), 4.

<sup>7</sup>Frederic Remington, "A Few Words from Mr. Remington," Collier's, XL (March 18, 1905), 16.

<sup>8</sup>Frederic Remington, "Arist Wanderings Among the Cheyennes," Century, XXXVIII (August, 1889), 541.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Remington Papers.

<sup>11</sup>Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Vintage, 1960), 48-49.

<sup>12</sup>Nixon Orwin Rush, Frederic Remington and Owen Wister; The Story of a Friendship 1893-1909 (Tallahassee, Florida: n.p., 1961), 15.

<sup>13</sup>Edwin Wildman, "Frederic Remington, the Man," Outing, (March, 1903), 712.

<sup>14</sup>Rush, 8.

<sup>15</sup>Frederic Remington, "A Few Words from Mr. Remington,"  
<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Owen Wister, "Remington--An Appreciation," Collier's, XL, (March 18, 1905), 15.

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This article accompanied Remington's first sketch for Harper's Weekly in 1882, "Cowboys of Arizona--Roused by a Scout."

Crooker, Orin Edson, "A Page from the Boyhood of Frederic Remington," Collier's, XLV (September 17, 1910), 28.

Crooker tells of Remington's days at Highland Military Academy and his friendship with Scott Turner.

Hoeber, Arthur. "From Ink to Clay," Harper's Weekly, XXXIX



(October 19, 1895), 993.

Hoerber tells of Remington's first efforts in sculpting. In discussing the fine points of the "lost wax process," he speaks well of Frederic Remington's bronzes.

Hough, Nellie. "Remington at Twenty-three," International Studio, LXXVI (February, 1923), 413-415.

Nellie Hough, the wife of novelist Emerson Hough, gives intimate glimpses of Remington as a young artist in Kansas City. This article is illustrated with Remington pictures done during his stay in Kansas. Frederic Remington's first name is misspelled Frederick.

Manley, Atwood. "Canton Writer Claims Error in Birth Date of Frederic Remington," Ogdensburg Journal (New York), May 15 1961, 5.

Manley has done some thorough researching to establish October 4, 1861 as the true date of Remington's birth.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Frederic Remington Born Oct. 4, 1861, Writer Claims," Watertown Daily Times (New York), May 12, 1961.

This is Manley's first article on Remington's birth.

Ralph, Julian. "Frederic Remington," Harper's Weekly, XXXV (January 17, 1891), 43.

An excellent biographical sketch of Remington written while Frederic was still interested in illustration.

Remington, Frederic. "A Few Words from Mr. Remington," Collier's, XL (March 18, 1905), 16.

This article by Remington is of value for the description of his first trip west in 1881 and his decision to become an artist.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Affair of the -th of July," Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (February 2, 1895), 105.

This was Remington's first try at fiction writing and

concerned the Pullman Strike of 1894.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Artist Wanderings Among the Cheyennes," Century, XXXVIII (August, 1889), 537-538.

This is the tale of Remington's trip to the Northwest in 1888.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Chicago Under the Law," Harper's Weekly, XXXVIII (July 28, 1894), 703.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Chicago Under the Mob," Harper's Weekly, XXXVIII (July 21, 1894), 680-681.

Remington's description of the Pullman Strike, 1894.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Colonel of the First Cycle Infantry," Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (May 18, 1895), 455-469.

This article is a fiction piece about the bicycle craze of the 1890's.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Cosmopolitan--Mr. Poultney Bigelow," Harper's Weekly, XXXIX (July 20, 1895), 688.

Remington's comments on Bigelow.

"Frederic Remington," The National Cyclopedia of American Biography. (New York, 1897), VIII, 467.

A short biography of Frederic Remington, this article traces high points of his career to the year 1897. It is of value because it was published during his lifetime and therefore was subject to his approval.

Roosevelt, Theodore. "Frontier Types," Century, XXXVI (October 1888), 832-843.

Remington illustrated this article for Roosevelt.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Home Ranch," Century, XXXV (March, 1888), 655-669.

Remington pictures Roosevelt's Montana ranch "Elk Horn."

\_\_\_\_\_. "Ranch Life in the Far West," Century, XXXV (February, 1888), 495-510.

Remington illustrated this article for Roosevelt with pictures done in 1887. Many of the sketches were redrawn by other artists from the Century staff.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Ranchman's Rifle on Crag and Prairie," Century, XXXVI (June, 1888), 200-212.

Some of Remington's pictures for this article were redrawn.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Round-Up," Century, XXXV (April, 1888), 849-867.

This article includes more Remington pictures, many of which were made in the Southwest and dated 1887.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sheriff's Work on a Ranch," Century, XXXVI (May, 1888), 39-51.

Remington's pictures follow closely the story of Roosevelt's pursuit of thieves in the West.

Taft, Robert. "The Pictorial Record of the Old West; V. Remington in Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XVI (May, 1948), 113-135.

A thoroughly scholarly job, this article concerns itself with Remington's single year on a Kansas sheep ranch (1883). This account is extremely detailed and well documented.

Thomas, Ausustus. "Recollections of Frederic Remington," Century, XLI (July, 1893), 361.

This short biography of Frederic Remington is extremely valuable for its account of Remington's artistic development.

Wildman, Edwin. "Frederic Remington, the Man," Outing, XLI (March, 1903), 712-716.

This article is one of the most revealing studies done

of Remington while he lived. To gather material for the article, the author traveled to Remington's island home "Ingleneuk". Most valuable is Remington's philosophy of art in his own words.

Wister, Owen. "Remington-An Appreciation," Collier's, XL (March 18, 1905), 15.

Wister tells of Remington's accomplishments.

### Other Material

Personal interviews with Mr. Frank Gross, Art Department, Blackburn College, Carlinville, Illinois, December 1, 1960, and January 7, 1961.

Mr. Gross was very helpful in throwing light on the subject of Remington's art work.

Personal letter to the author from deputy city clerk of Gloversville, New York, April 24, 1961.

In this communication the clerk verified Remington's marriage date.

Personal letter to the author from Eugene Exman, Harper and Row Publishers, April 26, 1963.

Mr. Exman explained Remington's association with Harper's

Personal letter to the author from Miss Catherine W. Taggart, Curator of the Remington Art Memorial, Ogdensburg, New York, November 21, 1960.

Miss Taggart was extremely helpful in pinning down little incidents in Remington's life as well as providing bibliographies of sources.

### Remington Papers.

The original Remington Papers are housed in the Remington Art Memorial in Ogdensburg, New York. A microfilm print may be secured from the New York Public Library, This

reel of film covers twenty-four letters and three cards from Frederic Remington, fifty letters to Remington, two scrap books, legal papers and manuscripts.

Transcript of Remington's marriage certificate, Gloversville, New York, May 15, 1961.

This reproduction was of value in determining relative whereabouts of Remington in the 1880's.

### Approval Sheet

The thesis submitted by Spencer John Maxcy has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

17 Nov. '64  
Date

W. W. McCarty  
Signature of Adviser